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WITH NAPOLEON



G. L. DE ST. M. WATSON

YC 75/43





A POLISH EXILE WITH NAPOLEON

Map of California

TO VINU
ABSORUO



PIONTKOWSKI.

**From a pencil sketch by Lady Trevelyan, in the
possession of Miss Loft Holden, of Hove.**

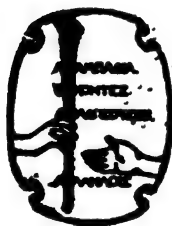


A POLISH EXILE WITH NAPOLEON

EMBODYING THE LETTERS OF CAPTAIN PIONTKOWSKI TO GENERAL SIR ROBERT WILSON AND MANY DOCUMENTS FROM THE LOWE PAPERS, THE COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS, THE WILSON MANUSCRIPTS, THE CAPEL LOFFT CORRESPONDENCE, AND THE FRENCH AND GENEVESE ARCHIVES HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED

By G. L. DE ST. M. WATSON

AUTHOR OF "WITH BRANDISHED BAWBLE: LIGHT VERSE AND PARODY," "HORACE WALPOLE: A DESCRIPTIVE AND CRITICAL CATALOGUE OF PRINTS"



LONDON AND NEW YORK
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10-11
W2

TO VINU
ABSOLUTAD

TO
J. VIPOND EDMONDS
OF THE INNER TEMPLE,
HIS OLD SCHOOLFELLOW.

MARLBOROUGH, WIGAN.
November, 1911.

'The once mighty Napoleon, who nearly despoiled Europe, is now confined to the limited space of little more than two miles . . . on such an Island, and so strongly defended by Nature and art, that not all the united efforts of the world can wrest him from our hands.'

CAPT. VINCENT, R.N., to BATHURST, *February 8, 1816*
(*Colonial Office Records*, 247. 7).

'Il est plus facile de tuer l'Empereur que de lui ôter le caractère sacré et ineffaçable qui est empreint sur sa Personne.'

MONTHOLON to LOWE, *December 18, 1818* (*Lowe Papers*, 20,204, f. 66).

'On doit s'en prendre aux Souverains qui, assemblés à Paris, décidèrent, le 2 août 1815, que Napoléon Bonaparte seroit relégué à Ste. Hélène. Je conviens qu'il étoit impossible de choisir une plus horrible prison.'

MONTCHENU to LOWE, *September 11, 1823* (*Lowe Papers*, 20,133, f. 356).

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I
INTRODUCTORY



A POLISH EXILE WITH NAPOLEON

I

INTRODUCTORY

IN the suggestive and sympathetic chapters Lord Rosebery published under the title of *Napoleon: the Last Phase* occurs a passage which may be said to supply the *raison d'être* of this monograph. It begins: 'Piontkowski remains a figure of mystery,' and concludes: 'but his appearance and career at Longwood still require elucidation.'¹ It is that 'mystery' I have essayed to probe *tant bien que mal*, and that elucidation I have done my little best to supply. If further excuse were needed, I might find it in another period in the same book: 'More especially do people esteem the memoirs of any who came, however momentarily, into contact with Napoleon.'²

The 'Polish Follower' at St. Helena came into much more than momentary contact with the Captive, and in default of any set 'Memoirs' has at least left us a series of letters addressed in the summer of 1817, when freshly landed in England from the Rock, to the once famous and still remembered soldier and politician, Sir Robert T. Wilson. These letters, bound up in one of the volumes of the Wilson Manuscripts at the British Museum,³ were

¹ P. 130.

² P. 3.

³ Add. MSS., 30,142, f. 41 of 2299.

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pointed out to me some eighteen months ago by Mr. H. F. B. Wheeler, F.R.Hist.S., who added to that original service the more gracious favour of waiving what claim he had to deal with them himself, and placing at my disposal certain preliminary verifications he had already effected.

Proceeding from the pen of a 'figure of mystery,' these Letters were bound to have in style and substance much of the unorthodox and unusual about them, though lacking that touch of the cryptic which to me formed the chief fascination of Dumouriez's holograph manuscript,¹ the authorship of which it was my lot to infer from its masterly 'Conclusion,' and to establish by subsequent investigations.² For at least one of the Letters was signed, and the identity of the writer was no more in doubt than that of his correspondent. But the various sheets were so jumbled up, regardless of logical, verbal, caligraphical, or even paper and water-mark sequence, that straightening out these all but centenarian effusions provided one with the more topical diversion of the 'jig-saw' ! Nowhere was a date affixed, and the time devoted to the writing of the Letters I have determined approximately from internal evidence, and treat of more fully, along with other correlated questions, at the proper place in my biographical and critical sketch of the writer.³

As to that writer, my main sources of information were three in number : the Letters themselves I except, as they deal chiefly with other figures, from Napoleon downwards ; though, of course, one may gather much of their author from them, were it only on Buffon's principle, or even that of M. Bertillon.

¹ *Dumouriez and the Defence of England against Napoleon*, by J. Holland Rose, Litt.D., and A. M. Broadley, 1908.

² See *Athenæum*, October 17, 1908.

³ P. 163.

Firstly, a longish obituary notice of Piontkowski by Cabany in the *Nécrologe Universel*,¹ very flamboyant and often inaccurate. Secondly, an article by M. Frédéric Masson in his *Autour de Ste. Hélène*. I shall have occasion to examine critically the latter at considerable length, and at the same time to appraise the value of the former. Thirdly, the Lowe Papers and the Colonial Office Records ; and those were rich in materials illustrating the St. Helena period, which is partly covered by the Letters, and which I shall be chiefly concerned with as a whole.

The Lowe Papers² in the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum consist of 136 volumes, varying from 300 to 1,200-pages of foolscap. Of these, exactly 90 are entirely devoted to St. Helena. Then, at the Public Record Office, another score of volumes treat of the Captivity : these are doubly useful, for not only can one check by them, in many cases with the originals, the leading items in copy of the Lowe Papers (in which function they are analogous to a certain percentage of the St. Helena Manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale), but they preserve besides a great many subsidiary documents of a departmental or other nature, which Lord Bathurst had no occasion to transmit, even as triplicates to the Governor. These 110 tomes I have read and made copious extracts from—too copious to utilize in a single monograph. This is not the time or place to give a detailed analysis of their contents, though I hope to do so some day as a useful piece of spade-work for the historian who must eventually come forth and, trained and equipped, write the *true* account of the Last Phase. Suffice it to say at this present that I arose from my six

¹ B. M. Ref., 10,600. h. 5.

² Throughout I use the initials L.P. for Lowe Papers, rather than the more cumbersome contraction Add. MSS., and C.O. for Colonial Office St. Helena Records.

months' reading with two impressions paramount—the one of profound sadness, mingled with indignation, at the 'pity and shame of it all,' and the needless suffering imposed upon the illustrious Captive by his custodians and his Followers alike, and the other of surprise, to use no stronger word, at the manner in which Forsyth acquitted himself of his great task. The former feeling has been experienced by millions, and expressed by a thousand far abler pens than mine. The latter is less familiar ; so let me enter into particulars.

Forsyth has long been looked upon on this side of the Channel as the 'Great Panjandrum' of the Captivity : his book, a St. Helena Bible and breviary combined. Leading historians and writers have testified, in their own words, to his enormous labour, his patient collation, his judicious sifting of the wheat from the chaff, his clear-headedness in the maze of materials, his careful rendering of all documents, and especially his juridical impartiality ; and his production almost entirely has Mr. Seaton followed in the best-ordered and most scholarly book on the subject in the language. It is not his fault, but his fountain-head's, if he has fallen into certain errors and arrived at some very questionable conclusions. Certainly ; Forsyth's labour was great, and deserves all recognition ; his collation, and still more Sir Harris Nicolas', most thorough, as even a superficial perusal of the Papers proves ; and his systematic handling of that 'rude and indigested mass' such as one might expect from a man of his training. But there I stop. His 'judicious sifting' ? Well, rather *too* judicious, and not sufficiently judicial ! His 'care' ? his 'impartiality' ? Let us see :—

1. Forsyth suppresses, wholly or in part, 'private,' 'secret,' or 'confidential' letters of Lowe, Bathurst,

Somerset, and others, which in a large number of cases supply a very material commentary upon or qualification to the official despatches they mostly accompany (in the proportion of one to every three or four) ; in some cases show the person or thing treated of in a diametrically opposite light ; and in one or two cases reveal features of grave, not to say sensational, import. Let us take an instance of each, and the last first. At the end of chapter xxviii., Forsyth, dealing with the suspicions of the English Government of a 'meditated escape,' gives us Bathurst's despatch of September 30, 1820, and then proceeds : 'And in a private letter to Sir Hudson Lowe, written a few days previously,¹ Lord Bathurst said, "You will receive a dispatch from me respecting the probability of General Bonaparte's attempting an escape. You are at liberty to show it *in extenso* to the Admiral . . .² and this instruction will enable you to excite his attention without exposing you to the imputation of being unnecessarily alarmed."'³ And there Forsyth stops. Not so his lordship. After a mention of Montchenu as 'a very foolish fellow,' of Buonavita, whom he will allow no Catholic in the island to communicate with (in the strict sense), and a reference to Las Cases' Journal, which he advises Lowe to 'keep quietly at St. Helena, and not do anything to revive that question,' he proceeds : 'I should be much disinclined to your seizing General Bonaparte's papers. It would produce a great sensation, and I do not think you would make any important discoveries.'⁴ The thought of Lowe contemplating an outrage of that magnitude and violating the Emperor's privacy, not merely 'to see him,' but for a much more sinister purpose, is not a pleasant one to his apologist ;

¹ September 22.

² The dots are mine.

³ Forsyth, iii. 251.

⁴ L.P., 20, 131, f. 69.

and so *silet Hortensius* ! Bathurst, you note, dissuades his ' dear General ' merely because Holland, or Burdett, or another would make a noise in Parliament.

As an instance of the second, I refer the reader, aptly enough, to the case of Piontkowski and the two several judgments passed upon him by Lowe in his official despatch to Bathurst of December 30, 1816, and his private letter to Somerset of October 19, 1816, which I shall quote.¹ Forsyth, needless to say, reproduces the former ; he cannot, in common fairness, give the latter, even in a footnote.

An example of the first case is supplied by that important question of the Limits. Forsyth gives us, and gives us twice (once tabulated), Bathurst's official despatch of January 1, 1818, in which the Secretary formally, and with seeming serenity, prescribes the Governor's course of action in this and other matters. The private letter of the same date, in which Bathurst drops the judicial and departmental manner, becomes Lowe's casuistical attorney, points out to him the just criticisms his actions will arouse, and suggests the best means to wriggle out, and in his brutal way asperses Napoleon's private character, is a great deal more telling than the other. It gives us the *spirit* of the Detention, which, paradoxally, proceeds always from the ' Letter,' *never* from the Despatch ! Hence Forsyth can only find room, and double room, for the last-mentioned.² For this particular performance of Bathurst's I refer the reader to my note to Piontkowski's remarks on the Limits.³

¹ P. 104.

² iii. 361.

³ P. 219. It were instructive, though wearisome to the reader, to collate every one of these private letters in the Papers with the mutilated fragments given by Forsyth. If the whole letter was suppressed (as occurs in a few instances) criticism would be

2. Forsyth cuts out incidentals really necessary for an impartial judgment upon the event he narrates.

When Madame de Montholon, in May, 1819, wishes to return to Europe on the score of ill-health, the Count has an important conversation with the Governor on the subject, which Forsyth gives at very considerable length and supplements with Lowe's letter to Bathurst, wherein Sir Hudson seems incredulous about her hepatic affection, and uses such expressions as 'she being stated to be afflicted with liver complaint' and 'her bad state of health *was assigned*,' and so forth.¹ Both Lowe and his defender blink the fact that the 'statement' above was of an official, professional nature, and that 'it was Dr. Livingstone himself who had first declared the necessity of Madame de Montholon leaving St. Helena; that it was dangerous for her to remain, not only in consequence of the liver complaint under which she suffered, but from other causes.'² But Livingstone, of course, did not always see eye to eye with Verling, and as the latter was the 'Governor's man,'³ to use Montholon's expression,

comparatively disarmed; what challenges it is that in the majority of cases it is just the passage which tells against Lowe that is cut out, whilst everything in any way unfavourable to the Followers or to O'Meara is given at length. The following is typical of many, and the thing the apologist here veils is Lowe's congenital suspiciousness, in this case especially gratuitous: On January 27, 1820, the Governor writes Bathurst a private letter referring to the transmission of newspapers to Longwood; as a hit is scored against O'Meara, it is quoted at some length. This sidelight is spared us, however: 'Everything goes on as smoothly and satisfactorily as can be desired—indeed, so much so as to lead me not to trust wholly to external appearances, but to be watchful and as much on my guard as possible' (L.P., 20, 219, f. 84).

¹ iii. 164.

² L.P., 20, 126, f. 303.

³ Which did not prevent Verling falling, like everybody else, under the Governor's suspicion. Reade, who, when not actively spying, spent his time in ferreting out people's family con-

the reason for the omission is not far to seek. Verling, be it said, behaved very dubiously in the whole affair. He at first agreed to certify Madame de Montholon's malady and give her husband a declaration in writing. Then he had an interview with the Governor—one of those whispered confidences which even the A.D.C. cannot seize.¹ Lowe, in his own words, 'did not wish to interfere.' Dear me, no! Lowe never does 'interfere,' he never does 'interdict'—he is far too wary to commit himself to any invidious pronouncement or iniquitous inhibition, oral or on paper, which his critics might fasten upon! But, somehow, when the Civil and Military Governor of St. Helena and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's Forces on the Establishment aforesaid summons a man—white, black, or yellow—into his official presence, he so instils the 'fear of God' into his heart that the individual in question leaves Plantation or the Castle with diametrically opposite views and intentions to those he entered it with. Of that there are many instances, and O'Meara supplies the great exception. *He* stood in no awe of Lowe. So, here, Verling goes back to Montholon and *refuses the certificate* 'of his own free will': which unfettered volition is so palpably false that Lowe himself

nections—the shadier the better—discovered that the surgeon had some Irish relations of the Catholic faith. Lowe, to whom everything from that quarter was anathema since the O'Meara affair, at once 'saw red,' and promptly imparted his ridiculous misgivings to Bathurst. His Lordship administered a well-deserved snub—one of four during Lowe's tenure of office: 'Whatever may be his [Dr. Verling's] connections in Ireland or the religious faith of himself or them, Lord Bathurst cannot permit any circumstance of that nature to invalidate the confidence to which his uniform discretion and propriety of conduct up to the date of your last communication so justly entitle him.'—Goulburn to Lowe (L.P., 20, 126, f. 82).

¹ 'Dr. Verling called this day on the Governor, but addressed him at first in so low a tone of voice as to be quite inaudible to me' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 416).

ironically calls attention to it in his despatch to Bathurst of October 31, 1820 !¹

Take the case of another surgeon. On his arrival, Antommarchi met the medical men of the island, and as they showed him great civility and facilitated all his investigations in the local hospitals, he thought he would make the best return he could ; so, failing an auscultation in chief of the Imperial *hepar*, or a foretaste of that wonderful anatomical Atlas he was so keen upon, invited four of them to dinner in his private apartments at Longwood. As Forsyth tells us, ' Dr. Arnott pleaded a prior engagement. Mr. Livingstone was unwell, and could not go ; Dr. Verling and Mr. Henry also sent excuses. Whatever may have been their reasons, the Governor had nothing to do with it, as he did not interfere at all.'²

Antommarchi felt the affront, and hotly animadverted to the Governor upon the ' universal terror ' he inspired. It may have been a *façon de parler* ; and replace ' terror ' by ' fear,' if you like : but at bottom the Italian was right. The moral suasion Lowe knew how to exert was generally of a subtle kind (some minor offenders, of course, he occasionally ' gorgonized '), and was conveyed by a wink just as well as a nod. Relating the affair to Bathurst on December 28, 1819, Lowe proceeds (where Forsyth stops) : ' By the letter which was addressed to Dr. Antommarchi, dated October 7, a great facility was afforded to him of communicating with the Medical Gentlemen on the Island in matters relating to his own profession. From this moment he appeared to cultivate their acquaintance with great assiduity, and although I saw no objection to the ordinary relations of society between him and them, yet the attempt to form a particular society with them alone evinced a disposition already

¹ L.P., 20, 131, f. 148.

² iii. 203.

to wander from the principle upon which I had granted such facility for communication with them.¹ It is easy to read between the lines of this verbiage. The wink did not come *after* the invitation, and the Governor, doubtless, did not 'interfere' at that stage. But it most certainly came *before*! Really, what did Lowe want? He introduces Antommarchi to his colleagues, and to those only; he grants every facility to 'talk shop'; he approves the 'ordinary relations of society'; and yet, when the Italian, still in a 'shoppy' way, hospitably tries to enter upon *the* most 'ordinary relation of society' with the only men he has met, the Governor gibbets him to Bathurst as a potential misdemeanant!

Again, in May, 1820, when the news of the assassination of the Duc de Berri reaches St. Helena, Montholon calls on Montchenu, and takes with him young Napoléon Bertrand. The little boy is shown the portrait of the hapless Duke, and blurts out, 'Ah, he is dead; well, that's one rogue less!' This puerility Forsyth italicizes for us, without adding, however, that the child's next remark is one of pleasure at seeing the picture of the Emperor of Austria.² It will hardly be believed that the trivial ejaculation of this boy in short pants (whose political opinions—save the mark!—were, likely enough, infused into him by his mother's *femme de chambre* what time she scrubbed his ears) is seized upon eagerly, not only by the otiose Marquis, who, on the 'babes and sucklings' principle, imparts it to both his Courts, but by the Governor himself, who serves it up to Goulburn, Bathurst, Balmain, and Thornton (at Rio), amongst others, as 'a tolerable clue of the real way in which such matters are considered by the Longwood Court.'³ When the crude

¹ L.P., 20, 128, f. 494.

² L.P., 20, 130, f. 64.

³ L.P., 20, 130, f. 176.

scintillations of *Napoléon junior* are thus made to derive straight from the mighty Intellectual Orb whose name had been given him, do you wonder that the real atmosphere of Longwood is *still* to us obscured by mists and distorted by mirage? And it is certainly not Forsyth ever did aught to dispel either or both.

3. Forsyth adopts unquestioningly the versions and views, however erroneous, of any deponent for Lowe and against Napoleon: when the other way about, they are minutely and mercilessly analyzed. 'Truth obliges' him to subscribe to Henry's inadequate version of Cipriani's death and the unworthy inference he draws from Napoleon's not visiting the sick man.¹ Monsieur Frémeaux's elucidation sufficiently disposes of this particular authority of Forsyth's.

Another sheet-anchor of his is Basil Jackson, whose most noteworthy passage, perhaps, is that given the pride of place and the distinction of italics at the very outset of his tomes.² It deals with the post of Orderly Officer, to which at one time Lowe seems to have thought of appointing the Lieutenant, and Jackson quotes Montholon's words to him at St. Helena: 'My good friend, you have had a fortunate escape; for had you come hither as an orderly officer, *we would most assuredly have ruined your reputation. It is a part of our system, et que voulez-vous dire?*' And Forsyth asks dramatically, 'Does not this sentence speak volumes?' No; it does not. It speaks Jackson's gullibility and Forsyth's ovineness. If the sentence was ever thus uttered (and there's something about that French tag which is suspect, not to add that Montholon, who was a shrewd courtier, was most unlikely to give away a 'system' when and where that system was presumably still being practised), it only

¹ ii. 263.

² i. 6.

shows that the speaker was, to use a vulgarism, pulling his hearer's leg,¹ and that any trash was good enough for Lowe's apologist to build a case upon. For what was this 'system' of ruining the Orderly Officers? There was no such thing. Who was ruined? Was Poppleton ruined? or Blakeney? Nicholls? or Lutyens? When, after twenty months' tactful and faithful discharge of extremely difficult duties, Poppleton left Longwood, in July, 1817, Napoleon paid him a mark-worthy tribute,² and was even more affable to him than at that interview on August 30, 1816, which had excited Lowe's suspicion.³ (Incidentally, if the Emperor was nice to a British officer, he was trying to suborn him; if he was nasty, he was insulting the Governor in the person of his subordinate!) Throughout his stay at Longwood he was a general favourite, which Gourgaud especially bears witness to, whilst even the jaundiced Las Cases thinks him *un très honnête homme*; and nothing occurred to mar the harmony of his relations with the Captives. When Blakeney left definitely in September, 1818, he was certainly not presented with a snuff-box—the fuss over Boys' was probably too fresh in the Emperor's mind—but he took away the regrets of the whole French colony, who had found him a very pleasant successor to Poppleton, and Madame

¹ Unlike the grave Bertrand, the fretful Las Cases, and the splenetic Gourgaud, Montholon at Longwood was a bit of a *pince-sans-rire*; witness, for one thing, his successful onslaught upon Montchenn's credulity in 1820 and 1821 as regards those untold millions possessed by Napoleon. As his little jokes generally partook of the nature of exaggerations more or less artistic, it is possible that Montholon was a much-maligned man, and that his acknowledged falsehood was essentially but unappreciated humour of the Yankee variety. Maybe the mistake of his life was his choice of isle and exile, and he would have fared better by following, not Napoleon to the Rock, but Joseph to Long Island!

² P. 74.

³ Forsyth, i. 278.

Bertrand expressed her disappointment at his leaving them so soon to Nicholls.¹ Months after his departure a breeze occurred with the Grand-Marshal, who, in a letter to Las Cases, stated that Blakeney had stigmatized the duties imposed upon him as degrading and inconsistent with the feelings of a gentleman. Well, what Blakeney may *in petto* have thought of his duties, or said about them in confidence to his intimates, no mortal can ever know. He was too shrewd, of course, to make public any animadversions of that nature, and, in point of fact, Bertrand was in error. But I strongly surmise that at bottom Blakeney was much of a mind with Lutyens, who, in December, 1820, after being prompted by Reade to a particularly repulsive form of prying, wrote to the A.D.C. these words, which, given the D.A.G.'s power, must have cost him an effort, and doubtless fell short of his actual sentiments: 'With respect to obtaining a view of General Bonaparte by candle-light, it was impossible to do it without getting close up to and actually peeping in at the windows, which I could not do with any degree of satisfaction to my own feelings.'² I don't suppose Blakeney had any more soul or stomach for Dutch interiors than Lutyens or the two others! Then Nicholls. Was *he* ruined? I fancy the Exiles must have been far too amused by his *naïf* ways, his bare dozen of French words, and his pathetic attempts at 'seeing Napoleon,' to entertain any very black designs against him. There was never the least suggestion of any contretemps, and as towards the end of his stay he

¹ L.P., 20,210, f. 2.

² L.P., 20,131, f. 297. Cf. Reade to Lowe: 'He did not go near any of the windows last night. It appears as if he was afraid of offending them' (L.P., 20,132, f. 358). [Original version: 'I really think he is afraid of affronting them'—L.P., 20,207, f. 337.]

actively assisted the Emperor's new diversion of gardening, *he* also left very fragrant memories behind, Montholon testifying in person to the Governor in February, 1820, to the 'good footing' he had always been on at Longwood. As for Lutyens, he was at once voted an excellent fellow, and the keynote was struck in this first message of his to Plantation: 'I have every reason to think I shall be very comfortable and happy on this Establishment.'¹ And he was. If there is one gleam of brightness about that terribly sad last illness, one feature which can bring a smile to your lips as you read, one thing which can momentarily divert your anger at the miserable suspicions of Bathurst, Lowe, Reade, Lambert, and Montchenu² that 'the whole affair is a sham,' it is

¹ L.P., 20, 129, f. 128.

² For Montchenu's attitude towards the Last Illness see his reports; for Lambert's, Appendix D. As for Bathurst's, even what little Forsyth prints of his despatches is telling enough. Lowe's, of course, is carefully veiled by his apologist, and hardly a line of this sort of thing appears. On November 1, 1820, Lowe, writing to his friend Thornton at Rio, denounces Bertrand's pathetic letter to Liverpool as an endeavour 'to work Bonaparte's removal from hence on the score of ill-health,' and further distrusts 'the attempts which, I conceive, are again likely to be renewed to obtain the Public Commiseration towards Bonaparte on account of his health' (L.P., 20, 131, f. 159). At the beginning of December Montholon writes an alarming letter to his wife, and also informs Lutyens of the serious state of affairs. Whence: 'Your Lordship will observe the marked pains taken by Ct. Montholon to impress on the mind of the Orderly Officer the opinion and belief of Gen. Bonaparte being very seriously indisposed' (L.P., 20, 131, f. 274). 'Ct. Montholon's letter is calculated for effect at Paris. . . . Gen. Bonaparte stands so highly committed in the different steps taken that he appears to have hardly any means of escape, except in actual illness, and the anguish of his mind alone, with the mortification that failure must inspire, might of themselves be perhaps sufficient to induce that state of body as well as mind in which he is now represented to be' (*Ibid.*, f. 272). 'Your Lordship will judge of the colour attempted to be given to Gen. Bonaparte's present situation by the enclosed extract from a letter from Ct. Montholon to

the many pretty attentions of the dying prisoner for the young Englishman who guards him. He sends him little gifts in kind for his dinner-parties and tiffins—one day it is a plate of cakes,¹ another a basin of turtle²—he does the 20th Regiment, for his sake, the honour of a presentation of books (which sadly miscarried, alas !), and, when nearing the end, he expresses his satisfaction with him, through Montholon, and his hope to see him again, 'if he recovers'; the Count personally assuring Lowe on February 23 that Lutyens 'nous offre que des motifs de louanges sur ses procédés.'³ There was a dying gift came to him, too, for (*I quote Forsyth's own footnote*)⁴ 'Captain Lutyens gave so much satisfaction to the French

the Countess' (*Ibid.*, f. 286). In February, 1821, the Count writes still more alarmingly to his wife. Lowe rises to the occasion, too, and on the 15th discounts it to Bathurst thus cynically: 'The *chaque jour la foiblesse augmente au moral et au physique* will not probably have been said without some foundation or some design. . . . From the mortification that must have sprung at finding the falsehood of so many of his complaints laid quite bare, and from the necessity which thus arose to substantiate some reality for the fictions that had been before advanced, much of his present indisposition may not impossibly be derived' (L.P., 20,132, f. 148).

'Mortification,' indeed! It required that last 'mortification' of all to convince Lowe that cancer, though it still baffles the Faculty, was at least not a species of political intrigue.

As for Reade, he had one brilliant notion, and thus accounted for the Emperor's seclusion. On March 27, 1821, he writes to Lowe: 'From the whole tone of Arnott's letter I am persuaded that Bonaparte will be out again very soon; and that his complaint is nothing more than a fit of *Bile* brought on by the Declaration of the Allied Sovereigns' (L.P., 20,207, f. 341). Which Lowe, on the 29th, thus imparts to Bathurst: 'It is the Declaration of Troppau which, *I conceive*, must have produced the present crisis upon a mind and body already too much predisposed to agitation from such causes' (L.P., 20,132, f. 338). The italics are mine. Seeing the nature of the inspiration, it was really too bad to deprive the D.A.G. of the full credit therefor!

¹ L.P., 20,130, f. 123.

² L.P., 20,132, f. 160.

³ L.P., 20,132, f. 181.

⁴ iii. 279.

at Longwood that, after Bonaparte's death, the Countess Bertrand sent him a piece of coral with some of Napoleon's hair.' All of which, naturally, set Lowe and Reade against Lutyens, and the former seized the first opportunity to depose the Captain for an error of judgment innocent of all malice, at the instance of Major Jackson. No one who reads the whole correspondence of the case—not merely the emasculated fragments given by Forsyth—but will confess that Lutyens was most unfairly dealt with, and was amply justified in memorializing the Duke of York as he did.¹

Let us add, if you like, the three understudies, FitzGerald, Croad, and Basil Jackson himself. The first two discharged their simple duties, such as accompanying the Followers to Jamestown, to the satisfaction of all parties : FitzGerald was quite a friend of Gourgaud's, and was much liked by Piontkowski ; Croad I devote a special note to.² As for Jackson, he made himself quite at home at Longwood, and was equally *bien vu* and *bien reçu* by the Bertrands and the Montholons.

I come to the one exception, Lyster. In plain English, Lyster was a fool who deserved his fate. After two such pleasant and tactful young fellows from Deadwood as Poppleton and Blakeney, the appointment of this superannuated, sinecure, local 'Inspector of Militia,' with the ethics of a carter and, incidentally, the fist of a cook, was a colossal blunder on the Governor's part. Lyster may or may not have been the 'creature of Lowe,' as Napoleon termed him (there was certainly one individual on the island who answered the description better, in the opinion of the Frenchmen and Commissioners alike) ; and the letter dictated to Bertrand, for which the latter could not be held responsible, might have been differently

¹ L.P., 20, 133, f. 224 ; *ibid.*, f. 259.

² P. 102.

couched—and kept to himself by Lowe.¹ Then came that grotesque and misplaced challenge, followed by that still more grotesque and bombastic threat of the horse-whip.² Bertrand, who must have been frankly puzzled by this insane action on the part of an orderly officer, '*ce vieillard en démence*,' and doubtless sincerely thought that it was merely a 'cover,' perhaps in accordance with some English Army etiquette he was unfamiliar with, did the only possible thing, seeing his rank, and offered to give Lowe himself satisfaction. Forsyth's sneers at his 'assumed belief' and his 'safe courage' are gratuitously insulting. No one who knew Bertrand ever doubted his courage. Lowe, whose first duty as King's Officer was to see the peace was kept, also did the only possible thing and merely removed Lyster. 'At the same time,' adds Forsyth, 'the Governor wrote to Count Bertrand and expressed his concern and extreme displeasure that such a letter should have been addressed to him by the orderly officer.'³ And there Forsyth stops, as usual; and one might suppose the whole matter ended with those regrets

¹ Forsyth, iii. 35.

² 'SIR,—Your seeming determination not to reply to the Invitation I did myself the Honour of sending you yesterday, as well as your refusing to answer my friend's letter on the same subject, confirms me in the opinion I always entertained that a base assassin (for who so richly deserves the epithet as he who vilifies the character of an innocent man in the dark ?) was always a pusillanimous Coward ! I now look upon you as unworthy of the notice of a Gentleman. Therefore the only weapon I can in future use against you must be the horsewhip. Oh! how the gallant French will blush when the name of Bertrand is mentioned—a man who would submit to such a degradation rather than give satisfaction to a British officer he has calumniated, and who never gave him the slightest provocation. I shall lay this correspondence before the French and English public, together with your letters to the Governor, and have them judge on which side Justice is.—(Signed) T. LYSER' (L.P., 20, 123, f. 150).

³ iii. 36.

of the Governor. But, licensed fosterling of Themis that he is, he clutches at the scales and claps them on to your eyes ! He does not tell you that while Lowe is inditing the above amicable expressions, he is instructing the officers under him to ostracize Bertrand for denying Lyster that satisfaction he had himself been offered with all forms. The order was put into execution at the very first opportunity, and when Nicholls is appointed orderly officer on September 5 and the Grand-Marshal pays him the formal 'visit of ceremony,' Reade instructs the Captain *not to return that visit*.¹ And presently, when young Reardon is carpeted and turned inside-out to implicate his Colonel, Lascelles (I commend his interrogatory to amateurs of the 'Plantation manner'),² one of the questions put to him is, whether he is aware that Lyster had threatened to horsewhip Bertrand, and still considers the latter a fit person to associate with — a more sensible second term had been 'considers the former a fit person to be at large.' And so Reardon's services are dispensed with, and he is packed off to England, in a great measure because he, second Lieutenant of the 66th, has exchanged a few civilities and some remarks about O'Meara with Bertrand, Lieutenant-General (*not* 'local rank' this time), ex-Governor of Illyria, late Grand-Marshal of the Imperial French Court, Count of the Empire, soldier and engineer of European reputation. *C'est à pouffer de rire !*

Another very debatable pronouncement Forsyth adopts straight away, and gives the distinction of italics to, is Shortt's opinion on the uncanny rôle played by the liver in Napoleon's fatal illness. Arnott, who attended him, has the wisdom to qualify it with an all-important 'perhaps,' which, however, carries no weight with the

¹ L.P., 20,210, f. 3.

² L.P., 20,207, f. 138.

narrator in question. I deal with the matter in my long note on the last days of the Emperor,¹ derived from the private journal of Arnott, which does not always tally with his *Account*, published, *with judicious retouching*, in 1822. (I italicize for M. Frémeaux's benefit.) Incidentally, Forsyth jumbles up the first and second dissection reports to suit himself, and gives us an innovation of his own in the shape of the 'left lobes' of the liver. The second and finally-considered report should have been printed exactly as it left the Doctors' hands.

4. Forsyth picks and chooses documents which support his contention, in contempt of the sometimes overwhelming number of those of the same category which do not. Take the question of the 'isolation of Longwood.' You remember it was one of the very natural complaints of the French that as time proceeded they saw less and less society, till it seemed almost as if a ban had been placed upon the colony and, in the Emperor's homely phrase, 'they all had the itch.' Forsyth combats this in a footnote as follows: 'It was the habit of Napoleon's partisans to represent Longwood as shrouded in mystery and gloom, and its inmates as secluded from visitors. The following note from the orderly officer, which is otherwise unimportant, may be quoted to show how little truth there was in the assertion';² and he gives us Blakeney's weekly report dated September 29, 1817, in which we get fourteen names of persons who have 'passed into Longwood,' or its grounds, either on business, or to call, or merely to look around. Well, the list is all right as far as it goes, though, to be sure, Barker, Porteous, Paine, Cole, Bayley, Wells, and tradespeople of that kidney, can hardly have added much to the distraction of the Captive or his circle. No; there's nothing wrong

¹ P. 192.

² ii. 214.

with it, save that it happens to be *the great exception*. Forsyth was familiar with all the weekly or fortnightly lists of the successive orderly officers, and yet he deliberately picks one of a dozen, perhaps, out of a hundred and fifty or so, which show a fair sprinkling of visitors. I cannot pretend to such unerring touch, and so will select not *one* list only, but a whole sequence ; it is a sequence of blanks ! According to Lutyens's reports, from February 7 till September 11, 1820—over seven months—Longwood might almost have been the habitation of the dead. Barring Admiral Lambert, who on August 4 paid a short duty call upon Montholon on his taking up his command, and Mrs. South, who on August 28 'sent in her card' (a P.P.C.), *not one visitor is recorded*. During all those successive weeks the only persons who literally passed in at the Longwood Gate were the three surgeons on occasional professional duty, and Ibbetson and his clerk Mulhall for the fortnightly payments of the servants.¹ It is no answer to say that Napoleon was ill and might not have welcomed visitors. Of course he was ill—desperately ill—but he was not *officially* ill. Lowe wouldn't have it that he was ill, and he was ill only to the Followers about him. That was not the reason for the abstentions. Besides, there was Madame Bertrand at Longwood, who was pining for society. Nor was there any dearth of potential or even expectant visitors during that period, distinguished or otherwise, as appears from Appendix B. On June 5 a Mr. Maitland, passenger on the *Mellish* from Madras, applied to Lowe for leave to call on the Exile. The Governor refused on the customary petty ground that this man, a mere passer-by of two or three days, had referred to the Captive as 'the Emperor.'² On March 29 a Mrs. Rees, by birth a French

¹ L.P., 20,212, ff. 133-161.

² L.P., 20,204, f. 127.

noblewoman, landed for a few days, and made a pressing appeal to Lowe to visit Madame Bertrand. The Governor sent Gorrequer to refuse her the privilege, and that without assigning any reason.¹ And there were others. I assert that in 1820 Lowe vindictively isolated Longwood in order to punish all its inmates *en bloc* for the Emperor's animadversions by proxy upon his appointment of Lyster in 1818 (see above), and Bertrand's consequent hostile attitude throughout 1819, due to his official ostracism decreed on that occasion. Let me add that even Lowe got ashamed of himself in time, and before the end of the year sent Lady Lowe, Doveton, Miss Mason, and a few more to drop cards on the Countess.

Or take a medical testimony. Doctors proverbially disagree, and one at least disagreed with Forsyth, for he rejects him. Dealing with the supposed salubrity of St. Helena, he quotes Henry's long statement beginning: 'For a tropical climate, only 15 degrees from the Line, St. Helena is certainly a healthy island, if not the most healthy of this description in the world. During one period of twelve months, we did not lose one man by disease out of 500 of the 66th quartered at Deadwood.'² Just so: 'for a tropical climate.' There is more salvation in that clause than ever was in that climate. Likewise, for a coal and iron centre, Wigan is a clean town, where, if you never remove your gloves, you *may* keep your hands white! Henry begs the question in the convenient belief, I suppose, that the Rock was the only possible prison for Napoleon. But that is not the point so much as the second sentence—that wonderful immunity of the 66th under the Assistant-Surgeon's care. What does Dr. Baxter, the chief military medical man on the island, say? Writing officially to Lowe on February 7,

¹ L.P., 20, 129, ff. 314-322.

² i. 29.

1817, shortly before Henry's arrival, he reports upon the great sickness prevalent in this very 66th, and deposes that in a period of about nine months (see Appendix B) 506 men have been in hospital, of whom twenty have died, dysentery and liver inflammation being most fatal.¹ As Baxter was taking his figures from the 2nd Battalion, which, like Napoleon, had come to the island straight from Europe, whilst Henry—who thinks only of deaths, and not of the cases which may have been at death's door—took his from the 1st, which had been seasoned to these 'tropical climates' by their service in India, the discordance above is easy to explain, and the inference is still easier to draw. But Henry is quite good enough for Forsyth, and apparently, too, for Mr. Seaton, who clinches the climate question with one downright and arbitrary assertion: 'No one at the present day disputes its healthiness.' As I, for one, dispute it,² and as there is a good deal more to be said on this very controversial subject, I will return to it in a note to Piontkowski's reference thereto.³

5. Forsyth gives us all items—letters, despatches, reports, conversations, interrogatories—which are in any way favourable, flattering, or creditable to the Governor. Anything the reverse is suppressed, the only exception, I suppose, being the great scene with Napoleon of August 18, 1816, which he can't pass over. [The 'suppression' he has been charged with by Lord Rosebery and others of all documents relating to Reade's brutal 'Come out, Napoleon Bonaparte!' of September, 1819, is, for once

¹ L.P., 20, 118, f. 86.

² During the Captivity, *bien entendu*. Science in a century has forged ahead, both in hygiene, which counters climate, and in afforestation, which modifies it. A wind-screen of poplars, a forest of pine, or a plantation of eucalyptus is a powerful adjuvant to the doctor.

³ P. 224.

in a way, not his, but presumably Lowe's. There's not a word about that violation in the Papers.] We get, and get *ad nauseam*, those *tête-à-têtes* with Montholon at the end of 1820 and beginning of 1821, in which the Count is 'coming round' to the Governor, and, on one occasion at least, positively beslobbers him. Forsyth affects to believe that all these protestations of the Frenchman are genuine. I say 'affects'; but it is just possible that the narrator, who, with the materials at his command, could not discern the grounds of the Lowe-Malcolm quarrel, is really blind to the obvious fact that Montholon is playing for his own hand—viz., his return, with all rights and privileges, to Royalist France through the good offices of the English Government—and is fooling the Governor, as he fools Montchenu, to the top of his bent.¹ In justice

¹ The three-cornered finessing is an amusing study. Starting with the same premisses—viz., the Spanish and Neapolitan risings, the attempt on the Duchesse de Berri, the unrest in France and Italy, and so forth—Lowe and Montchenu arrive at the same conclusion, to wit, the very possible return of the Captive to France, by way of an exactly opposite, if parallel, middle term. Montchenu distrusts the Lowe-Montholon *rapprochement*, and reads therein a connivance on the part of the English Government to let Napoleon escape, and so, incidentally, save the British taxpayer (the Marquis's usual view-point was the pecuniary); whilst the Governor suspects the Montchenu-Montholon meetings as tending to 'Imperialize' the Commissioner—now signing no longer 'of his Most Christian Majesty,' but 'of France' as Lowe informs Bathurst—and through him to facilitate the recall, or even the evasion, of his illustrious Prisoner. Cf. 'I am not without some doubts of a certain degree of combination prevailing between him, or his Followers, and the Marquis de Montchenu, whose language in the last two conversations he had with me appeared most extraordinary. . . . I never heard him pronounce the name of "Napoléon" with so much emphasis; he formerly used to call him only "Bonaparte"' (Lowe to Bathurst, September 3, 1820, L.P., 20, 131, f. 12). Lowe, whilst seeing through Montholon's *m'amours* to himself (which he shrewdly exposes to Bathurst and Goulburn, and still more subtly analyzes to his friend Thornton at Rio (L.P., 20, 131, f. 159)—seems to have been fairly *intrigued* by the Count's

to the former, that top was not much higher than his boot's; for Sir Hudson had an intelligence of a very different order from his Most Christian Majesty's Buffoon's at St. Helena. An instructive and entertaining item we do *not* get is that remarkable interview between Stürmer and Lowe on May 29, 1818, in which some shrewd thrusts are exchanged, and which, once for all, had Forsyth only condescended to relate it, would have imparted to his readers the true inwardness of the coolness between the Commissioners and the Governor. Stürmer gives his version to Metternich in his despatch of June 1, which M. Frémeaux reprints at some length (p. 405). Gorrequer's version exhibits many differences, and is even more telling.¹ *En passant*, Lowe's whole attitude towards

communion with the Marquis; an instance of how his second nature, suspicion, could suspend his first art, inference. Montchenu, on his side, by this assumption of Napoleonism *pro tem.*, and this abandonment awhile of his famous *rôle des deux-cinquièmes* (i.e., France and Austria out of the five Allied Powers), fondly thought to inveigle Montholon into State confidences, which he should be able to turn to official profit: the Count it was, of course—as Bathurst rightly surmised (L.P., 20, 131, f. 69)—who was really duping the Marquis for the obvious purpose of *doubly* grinding his one and only axe. False and fleeting though it was, Montchenu's pose, like everything about him, was none the less comical. He was already referring to 1812 as 'when *we* went to Russia.' In another few months, had the Emperor lived, he would have become the Bill Adams of Austerlitz! One thing is certain, had the suspected 'return from the Rock' ever come to pass: whichever King of Brentford the *gaga* Marquis might eventually have knelt to, Napoleon himself would have had no truck at all with *ce c— de Montchenu!*

¹ *E.g.*: 'The Baron became very warm, and said, "I am not your Prisoner; I am neither in an Inquisition nor in a dungeon!" "No, M. le Baron [replied Lowe], and you might add, 'nor *au secret* nor in a galley'—a favourite expression in greater use at Longwood." ['Ce sera plus dans le sens napoléonien'—Stürmer to Metternich.] The Baron's warmth increasing, he proceeded: "Allow me to tell you, M. le Gouverneur, that you don't at all know how to treat us—you have no *sang-froid*; you lose your temper as soon as the discussion commences; almost every

the three Commissioners, useless and tiresome though they may have been, is a study in insincerity. It is hardly conceivable that the same man who could write such things as these of Balmain—' He has long appeared to me to be playing a double part ';¹ ' Count Balmain, whom I really consider to be a very intriguing and dangerous character ';² ' He regards himself as a person placed here for the purpose of watching me ';³ of Stürmer, ' The departure of the Baron will relieve me from one of the most troublesome of them ';⁴ and of the whole trio, ' Your lordship will, I am persuaded, require no comment on the concealment practised towards me by the Commissioners and on the impropriety of their intercourse with the Followers of General Bonaparte '⁵—could find it in his heart to allay Montchenu's misgivings as to the Governor's opinion of himself and his two colleagues with the words : ' I shall always know how to appreciate

single time that I have approached business with you I have had to experience ill-humour on your part; you have almost invariably begun with *sottises*. . . . I don't mean by that foolish or stupid things, but *brusque* and hard things, like that *scène* that you made at Count Balmain's the other day. You said to him : ' If I dared — ' ; something I can't repeat to you as he himself did not quite catch it ; but it was accompanied with looks, gestures, *manières*. " ' And Stürmer ends on an exquisite note : ' Soon after the arrival of the Commissioners you told us in a Conference that Ct. Montholon was known for such a great liar that Sir G. Cockburn would never speak with him except before witnesses. *Eh, bien*, Sir, after that declaration, nevertheless, you have never spoken with the Commissioners *except before witnesses* ! ' (L.P., 20,122, ff. 416-421).

¹ L.P., 20,126, f. 205.

² L.P., 20,126, f. 247. This because Balmain had had the common sense to doubt the propriety of terming Napoleon a ' *rebelle redoutable* ' !

³ L.P., 20,127, f. 151.

⁴ L.P., 20,123, f. 60. An edifying despatch in which Lowe unbosoms himself to Bathurst on the subject of the Commissioners.

⁵ L.P., 20,128, f. 214.

the honour and the advantage of their presence in the Island, even as I am grateful for all the proofs they have given me of their goodwill (*bienveillance*).¹ *Balmain's* 'double part,' forsooth!

Forsyth is so busy pursuing O'Meara down the fuliginous byways of the Finlayson Correspondence or hoisting Montholon with the petard of his Parthian mendacity that he quite overlooks the fact that *all* slanders do not proceed from the surgeon nor *all* myths from the Count. But when Lowe gratuitously asperses a Colonel Keating, for instance, Forsyth slurs it over with a half-truth at foot;² when Lowe lies, his apologist lies low. In August, 1819, Hook's *Facts* reaches St. Helena.³ Lowe, who had

¹ L.P., 20,128, f. 388.

² L.P., 20,118, f. 297 and f. 317. We are told that Lowe wrote to Keating as well as to Bathurst. Just so, but he knew very well that Keating would not get his letter in time.

³ A recent reprint by Mr. Shorter has drawn attention to Hook's frothy and catchpenny pamphlet, and it may be of interest to see what opinions were passed upon it at St. Helena itself. Lowe is fairly severe: 'It is unauthorized in all its parts by me, and though I am thankful for his good intentions, yet I wish he had been somewhat less pointed in some of his remarks upon others. . . . Sir Pulteney and Lady Malcolm have, however, the least reason to complain, as their names have been brought so prominently and so ridiculously forward in the book [*Letters from St. Helena*] written by the Master of the Storeship, to which the other is in great part a reply' (Lowe to Ellis, September 25, 1819, L.P., 20,128, f. 215). And this, to Bathurst: 'I regret the pointedness of his remarks in some instances upon others' (*Ibid.*, f. 218). Montchenu, as ever, is amusing, and out-Andrews Aguecheek: 'La brochure à laquelle il répond ne mérite, ainsi que son livre, que le plus profond mépris, et si je rencontrais Mr. Hook, je lui donnerais une quantité suffisante de coups de bâton, non pour le punir de ce qu'il a dit de moi (qui m'est très indifférent) mais pour lui faire avouer la personne qui lui a donné ses renseignements, car avec toute sa facilité pour improviser il n'a pas encore acquis l'art de deviner' (L.P., 20,128, f. 386). *Balmain*, with his usual intelligence, sums up the case accurately: 'Il paraît que l'auteur des *Faits* est un employé du Ministère des Colonies à l'Ile de France. A son passage à Ste. Hélène il

received the egregious Theodore at Plantation in the previous November, writes to Goulburn, 'I know the author, but not in his capacity as such,'¹ and thereupon instructs Gorrequer to inform Balmain that 'the Governor is not aware of the author's name.'² Trifles, to be sure—mere bagatelles! But, as Forsyth oracularly impresses upon us, it is such straws as these show how the wind blows, and then proceeds (while making no mention of Napoleon's little gifts to Lutyens, for instance) to register religiously every occasion on which the Governor sends up a 'basket of fruit' or a 'box for the books,' or a 'couple of pheasants,' to Longwood or Hutt's Gate. To prove what? That Lowe could be nice and polite when he pleased? Who denied it? So could Turpin and Claude Duval; and the greatest rogue unhanged will offer you a light in the street, particularly if a policeman is passing, like . . . Amherst or Molesworth, Ricketts or

étoit sous le poids d'une accusation grave et se rendoit en Angleterre pour y subir un jugement. C'est, à ce qu'il paroît, un homme d'esprit et un improvisateur, qui pour obtenir sa grâce publia tous ces mensonges. Voilà ce qu'on en dit à Londres et à Ste. Hélène' (Balmain to Nesselrode, September 10, 1819, *Russkie Archiv*, 1869, col. 819). Malcolm, rightly, is most telling of all: 'Sir Pulteney, on seeing his name so freely spoken of, had waited on Lord Melville and requested his Lordship would intimate to Ministers that if anything further was said about his line of conduct whilst in the Naval Command on this Station he would be compelled to write in his own vindication, when he should publish *some unpleasant truths*. That in consequence of this intimation Mr. Hook's book was suppressed.' Thus deposes his Flag-Lieutenant, Wright (L.P., 20,129, f. 50). As I pointed out at the time to a couple of reviewers, Mr. Shorter was mistaken in giving Hook a bare two or three days on the island—even his 'facts' could hardly have been gleaned in that space. He remained twenty-four days (see Appendix B). Nicholls registers his visit, with Head, to Longwood on November 6, when 'he had no communication with the inhabitants' (L.P., 20,210, f. 5); and again, with Reade, on November 15 (*Ibid.*, f. 6). And it was at the Cape, not at St. Helena, that Hook met Somerset.

¹ L.P., 20,127, f. 150.

² L.P., 20,127, f. 284.

Muskerry ! Frankly, the most charming thing in the Papers is the Governor's little letter of welcome to the Abbé Buonavita when he arrives in the *Snipe*. It is couched in superlative Italian and addresses the old *padre* quite in the Othello strain as ' Most Illustrious and Most Reverend Signor.'¹ Yes ; but set against that a dozen epistles in which mean suspicion, petty malice, and low vindictiveness conjoined make your cheek tingle with anger as you read. That was Lowe, but not Forsyth's Lowe, nor even the Lowe of Mr. Seaton, who apparently forms his estimate of the Governor's ethics at St. Helena from Jackson's life-tribute to him as a husband, parent, friend, and so forth. Lowe may have been a model husband, father, stepfather, first cousin, and friend, and *yet* have been a brute to Napoleon. I don't say he was the latter quite, but there is nothing in the former to prevent it. Mr. Seaton might as well advance that because a Lancashire miner is kind to his whippet, a mere dog, he must therefore be even kinder to his wife and children, who are humans. As a matter of fact, in some cases he half starves the child for the sake of the hound (upon which he wagers), and pommels his wife black and blue ! The heart of man is a curious, complex, contradictory sort of thing, which can sacre and crucify in two beats. ' You've got to git up airy ' to take it *all* in, and it isn't every Late Fellow of Jesus comprehends it aright.

6. Forsyth mutilates documents which from their very nature should be printed in their entirety. By all means boil down conversations, distil despatches, extract instructions, and ' bovrilize ' bulletins ; but one does not give the ' chief ' counts of a formal interrogatory or the ' chief ' charges of an important court-martial. Such things, if mentioned at all, should be letter-perfect, that one may

¹ L.P., 20, 128, f. 187.

formulate his judgment upon them as a whole. The notorious instance, of course, which M. Frémeaux has spared me the necessity of entering into, is the Stokoe Affair, where, out of the ten charges of the court-martial,¹ Forsyth omits the fifth, sixth, and ninth, the last being that classic crime 'designating General Bonaparte as "*the Patient*.'" This piece of pettiness is so essentially silly that, were it not cut out, it might cover the whole proceedings with ridicule. The truculent Plampin, one observes, took it very seriously, and, with his appetite whetted, cast about for other like offenders, and so pillories Nicholls to Lowe for a certain report of his: 'Captain Nicholls has been guilty of the very crime set forth against Mr. Stokoe in the ninth charge—viz., "I saw him leave *Napoleon's* house"—which, though unintentional on his part, would naturally be laid hold of, being from an ex-officer under your immediate control to your own Military Secretary.'² Given the Admiral's nature, one is really surprised he did *not* see malice prepense in it!

Another curtailed item which should have been given *in extenso* is Arnott's report of his first visit to Napoleon.³ But then Forsyth's account of the Last Illness is, as a whole, chiefly remarkable, not for what it imparts, but for what it withholds.

7. While professing to give us a faithful presentment of affairs at St. Helena, Forsyth throws a cloak over entire phases of the life. One may read his three tomes from cover to cover (including that Index which was so purgatorial to Lord Rosebery) without ever dreaming that there was any such thing as spying, official or otherwise. *Spies*? Call them what you please—inquiry agents, zetetics, *mouchards*, delators, pressmen, 'tec's narks, or

¹ L.P., 20, 126, ff. 61-64.

² L.P., 20, 127, f. 299.

³ L.P., 20, 157, f. 2.

gross gapers and supervisors—the place simply stank with them, especially in '18 and '19. I instance the sort of thing in Appendix E. They *all* spied and reported, from the Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Station down to the yam-fed loafers at the sea-gate; and the Gerrard Street of the system was, aptly enough, the Alarm House, where Reade cultivated rurally that prime Doric way which made him *such* a favourite with English and French alike; whence he sent out his pet sergeants dressed in mufti or disguised as artless Helenians; and from where (as we are told by Lutyens) he 'commanded on one side a view of the main street in the Town [there was only one], with all the ships at anchor, and on the other Longwood House and grounds, with the principal road leading to them.'¹ Oh, how ideally 'situate' for an agent's puff in the *St. Helena Register*!² I won't deny there were 'spiable' things and 'spiable' people, as time went on; but that, I submit, was not the cause, but the effect, of the spying:

'The surest plan to make a Man
Is, think him so, J. B.'

¹ L.P., 20,211, f. 25.

² During the bad season the D.A.G. resided at the first house on the right, going into the town from the sea-front, next to the Admiral's, and exactly *vis-à-vis* Porteous' establishment, where the quidnunc Montchenu lodged and the Followers paid calls, and where all visitors of any standing whatever, when not asked to Plantation House, disported themselves for their week or so on land. Once again the situation was ideal, and doubtless there were slits in the window-blinds! Reade, though only an undistinguished Captain in a foot regiment (*via* the Lancashire Militia), pitchforked for the time being into a local Lieutenant-Colonelcy ('I dread returning to my Regiment at Gibraltar as a Captain.' Reade to Lowe, December 3, 1821, L.P., 20,207, f. 383), had that intuitive perception of the strategic point and the 'key' position which marked the Roman officer of old. 'Or ever the knightly years were gone,' Sir Thomas (of Cumbrian stock) must have been a sub-centurion in a Legion of Hadrian and spied upon the Barbarians through a chink in the Wall!

and the converse is even truer. Had the 'foreigners at Longwood' (and others) been from the first trusted, they would never have given cause for distrust.

8. Forsyth euphemizes absurdly. For a chief instance I refer the reader to the question of the relations of Lowe and Malcolm I deal with at some length.¹

9. Forsyth, if it comes to care and conscientiousness, cannot translate properly.

On January 30, 1821, Montholon wrote to the Governor on the subject of the proposed new Physician and Followers. The last paragraph ran: 'Le parti qu'a pris Milord Bathurst de s'adresser au Cardinal Fesch à Rome, qui paroissoit sage, s'est trouvé en défaut,' etc.² Forsyth gives it: 'The part taken by Lord Bathurst in addressing himself to Cardinal Fesch at Rome, which appeared prudent, has proved a failure,' etc.³ *Prendre un parti* in French is not the same as *prendre part*, but let that pass. By turning *sage*, which means wise, and nothing else, into 'prudent,' he disnatures the inference, the suggestion *then* being that anybody else's choice but the Cardinal's would have been open, not to criticism, but to suspicion.

Forsyth cannot even transcribe correctly. Nicholls writes in his journal on November 29, 1819: 'General Bonaparte was out early this morning employed in his favourite garden with a number of assistants, Count Montholon, valets, Chinese gardeners, stablemen, etc. He is picking holes in one part of the garden, and raising mounds in another, and carrying horse-dung to other parts. *Poor Uncle Toby exemplified!* The General was in his morning gown amidst the people at work directing them—takes a spade at times and begins to potter—sends messages to me for carts, shovels, and spades. God send he may

¹ P. 107.

² L.P., 20,204, f. 144; L.P., 20,132, f. 91.

³ iii. 258.

always continue in this humour during my residence at Longwood !' ¹ This Forsyth copies. He omits the horse-dung, and is justified ; he omits the avuncular simile, and is not ; and when he gets to the passage, ' begins to potter—sends messages to me,' actually prints it, ' begins to put in seeds—messages to me,' which is grammatical nonsense and horticultural heresy.²

The foregoing will do for the present ; I shall have later opportunities of criticizing Forsyth. A final word here about that unctuous rigmarole at the end in which he fixes for us Napoleon's mental attitude during the Captivity. There were *no* ' paltry tricks ' on the Emperor's part to ' make men believe ' this, that, or the other. Napoleon was perfectly willing and anxious at first to hit it off with Lowe ; it was the latter's fault that things went otherwise. The Captive felt what was due to him, not only as the greatest Will and Intellect of his age, possibly the greatest figure in History, but as a King anointed and acclaimed of his people, whom no reverse of fortune could rob of that sanctity. He did not ' pose ' as the Victim ; he *was* the Victim. If he ' contended '—and how can a solitary man on a rock really *contend* against two thousand custodians ?—it was not against the ' merciful sovereignty of God,' but rightly against the sovereign unmercifulness of the Powers, against the treatment meted by their mandatory, against the restrictions imposed by a Bathurst, against the vexations wherewith they were carried out by a Lowe. Whatever may be said of his Followers, Napoleon himself bore his cruel and abominable exile with exemplary patience and fortitude—not *submission*, of course ; but who, free from the mental astigmatism of a Forsyth, could possibly have expected this last ? What Napoleon at St. Helena thought in his

¹ L.P., 20,210, f. 34 ; cf. *Ibid.*, f. 32.

² iii. 196.

inmost heart of the dispensations of Providence is not for Lowe's defender or any other presumptuous sophist to declare. Even the most *outré* apologist of the Captivity will hardly pretend that Lowe or Bathurst or the Prince Regent was the vicegerent of God in the matter. *That* may safely be left to Caricature. If there was one unintentionally ironical thing the Last Phase gave rise to, it was that noted cartoon of Cruikshank in travesty of Milton, in which the great Emperor, as the Devil steeped in impenetrable murk, appeals to the fair Luminary of Heaven, shining unspotted in an unsullied sky, who is none other than—the Regent! After that *lucus a non* they could swallow anything!

To sum up in a line, for I am tiring the reader before I have even tackled Piontkowski. When a man, a Q.C. at that, trained in the use of evidence, lays himself open to the foregoing charges, and then calmly sits down and writes in his oleaginous Preface: 'I was not asked to make out a case for Sir Hudson Lowe, nor, had I been asked to do so, would I have consented.' '... he betrays the office of an historian if he assumes the tone of an advocate,' '*Amicus Socrates, etc.*' 'I have not kept back one single fact or expression which, whether it told for the one side or the other, could by possibility throw light upon the great question at issue,' and so forth *ad nauseam*, that man, I submit, is hugging perilously close the hum-bug and the hypocrite.

A few words as to the 'usual trimmings.' I have annotated chiefly from the Lowe Papers and the Records. My object, in the main, has been to combine new matter with lightness of handling, and incidentally to give a little passing prominence to sundry interesting figures who hitherto have been relegated to the *arrière-plan*. I

have referred but rarely to the *Mémorial*, the *Voice*, the *Récits*, and the *Journal*, all of which the reader is familiar with, nor have I attempted the futile task of trying to harmonize those polychrome Four Gospels of St. Helena. At one point, with a certain end in view, I have had exceptionally to quote Gourgaud with some fulness. I have eschewed that common stand-by of the annotator, the merely biographical or chronological footnote, whose elasticity is second only to its cheapness. I don't think one's speculations upon St. Helena are advanced by knowing the correct age of Gourgaud's mother, the exact date of Miss Robinson's wedding, the precise rank of Osborne, of the 20th, who cut the Bertrand children's hair, or the right number of Esther Vesey's week-ends with Marchand—all of which are recorded. The reader who, like the Arab, has a filial affection for figures and is nurtured on dates, presumably has Haydn and suchlike at his elbow. Now and then, however, for a definite purpose—usually that of correction—I have gone into minute particulars of person or time. Some of the more important notes are lengthy. I would suggest to the reader to take them at a second reading. Should he haply deem them more interesting than the text—well, we often partake of the salad for the sake of the dressing.

As for the Appendices, I venture to hope that the work I have put into them—B and the other naval ones especially—will make them of use to future students of, and writers upon, the Last Phase, though I can hardly expect even the friendliest of reviewers to wade through them. When I state that it has taken me ere now an hour and a half to have sight of a single ship's journal, reeking with the soot of a century, at the Record Office, it will be granted that *those* logs, at least, are not of the sort that is rolled !

The work, in conclusion, has been a labour of love to me. Like verse and virtue, research is its own reward; and whatever be the fortunes of this little monograph, nothing can rob me of the interest and pleasure I have derived from its making—which twin sentiments I sincerely trust I may in some measure communicate to my readers.



II

BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL

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It was in keeping with the irony of things that Piontowski's exotic and elusive surname should, at its first inclusion in an official French document, be shorn of its due proportions and deprived of its middle letter, for its owner was fated to be misjudged and misrepresented throughout his chequered existence down to the present day. The very least, perhaps, of the many slights he was subjected to during that period of his life which immediately concerns us was this various and abundant misspelling. I have counted some thirty faulty renderings of the Slavic, from Montchenu's urbane 'Biantowski' to Major Hodson's semi-barbaric 'Piontikaioiski.'

On April 27, 1815, Napoleon, once again on the throne, issued a Decree,¹ consisting of three short paragraphs, by which he granted a 'dotation' of 200 francs to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers who had followed him to Elba. Two lists of beneficiaries—there referred to as 'returned from Elba'—are annexed to this Decree: those who possessed the decoration before leaving Fontainebleau, and those who received it on board the *Inconstant* on the passage to Golfe Juan. In the first one, under the number 145, figures 'Piontowski, Frédéric.' He rounds off the Polish Light Horse, the Artillery of the Guard starting with number 146. Thus, with the customary inversion, the dropping of a consonant and the suppres-

¹ See Appendix A.

sion of two *prénoms*, was the future 'Follower' set down by a clerk at the Tuileries in the list drawn up some two or three weeks before it was given to the world.¹ That was the earliest certain appearance he may be said to have made in an official way.²

¹ The list was made out before the publication of the promotion of April 16, else Piontkowski could not have figured as a *sous-officier* (see *post*).

² I say 'certain,' and make the following suggestion for what it is worth:

The last of the three famous Proclamations, dated Golfe Juan, March 1, 1815, distributed by Napoleon on his progress towards Paris—which he and dozens after him asserted had been first printed at Gap, but M. Houssaye has proved were sent to the press at Porto Ferrajo on February 25 (1815, i. 189-203)—was that addressed to the army by the officers and men of the Imperial Guard, beginning: 'We have preserved your Emperor despite the many snares that beset him,' and signed by twenty-three officers headed by Cambronne. It is reproduced in full in the *Moniteur* of March 21, besides being given by Peyrusse (p. 289), Chautard (p. 115), and a dozen others. Of the signatories, five belong to the Polish Light Horse: Jerzmanowski, Major; Balinski and Schultz, Captains; *Fintoski* and Skoronski, Lieutenants. Now there was no 'Fintoski' at Elba. Pons de l'Hérault, who knew everybody on the island and writes of the little army in terms of affectionate familiarity, gives the Polish officers as follows: 'Jean Schultz, Captain; Balinski, *ibid.*; Guitonski, First Lieutenant; Skoirresuski, Radon, Zielenluenoicz, Piotronky, Second Lieutenants' (p. 327). Of these, the last *may* be meant for Piontkowski; if so, what was he doing amongst the officers? It is quite possible that towards the end of his stay at Elba, Piontkowski came into his own once more and was granted the local rank of Second Lieutenant, and perhaps at Drouot's suggestion embarked, not on the *St. Esprit* with the troopers, but on the *Inconstant* with the officers, and there in the little cabin affixed his signature to the Proclamation, which the grenadiers had copied on board. His fist is sufficiently indistinct to allow for a clerical distortion of his name into 'Fintoski.' Should the hypothesis be too far-fetched, perhaps some student of the Elba phase, bearing in mind Pons' list, will tell us *who* 'Fintoski' was. 'Guitonski' might be the original of course, but seeing Piontkowski's capital letters—thus makes *he* his great P's—the 'F' is more likely derived from a 'P' than a 'G.' Pons' 'Piotronky' may also be a distortion of

Charles Frédéric Jules Piontkowski¹ was born on May 30, 1786, at Bladowek, in the province of Warsaw. Of his early years nothing is known, save that, according to his biographer, he went as page to the Saxon Court. A page, if page he was, could rightly gravitate but into the army or diplomacy, and, lacking favour for the latter, and apparently, too, for the former, he enlisted as a soldier, and between the years 1809 and 1813 saw service in the Hussars, the Lancers, or the Life Guards—deponents differ. In the spring of 1812 he gained a Commission as *lieutenant de première classe*, and, as such, went through the Saxon Campaign, probably assisting at the Battle of Bautzen, where he might have set eyes upon all the three chief figures in his *Letters*—Napoleon, Wilson, and Lowe—and was eventually wounded and taken prisoner before Dresden. In the summer of 1814, unlike most of his fellow-countrymen, who availed themselves of the Treaty of Fontainebleau to go home,² he proceeded to Elba, to serve in whatsoever capacity the Man of Destiny, whose immediate fortunes, he may have divined, were, in spite of all disparity, to be interwoven with his own. There was no room for another officer in the little

Piotrowski, the name of a *General* mentioned by Michel Oginski (*Mémoires*, iv. 179). Perhaps he had a son who went to Elba? But where Polish names are in question and the writer a Frenchman, one can be sure of nothing.

¹ In pronouncing the name the *w* is silent.

² Clause 19: 'The Polish troops of all arms which are in the service of France will be free to go home, keeping their arms and baggage, as a token of their honourable services.'

After the Treaty the Emperor Alexander was solicited by Dombrowski to allow the Polish troops to proceed at once to their destination. They were placed under the honorary command of the Grand Duke Constantine, and reached home in batches, between June 7, when Dombrowski himself arrived at Warsaw, and August 25, when Krasinski brought the last stragglers into Posen.

Elban army, and, dropping his rank, Piontkowski was enrolled in the Imperial Guard, first as a private in the battalion of Grenadiers, and then as a trooper in the squadron of Polish Light Horse commanded by the dashing Jerzmanowski. The 'squadron' was a misnomer, for of the 118 men who composed it,¹ only twenty-two were mounted and escorted the Imperial carriage, whilst the other ninety-six were soon after their arrival converted into artillerymen and attached to the *polygone*. From the fact that Napoleon was reported by Reade as saying at St. Helena that he did not know Piontkowski, one infers that the latter never attended the Emperor in his drives, but belonged to the gunners. Even then, given the mere handful of soldiers at Elba and the visual memory of the man who commanded them, the statement strikes one as a misrendering of the French. Whatever his precise duties may have been, Piontkowski acquitted himself of them to the entire satisfaction of his chiefs, as Drouot's commendatory lines sufficiently testify.² More,

¹ Vivian, in his interesting narrative of his visit to Elba, gives us, with sufficient accuracy, 'about 120 Polish Lancers' (p. 32), and says that the Imperial 'carriage was accompanied by an escort of four or five lancers and about the same number of officers' (p. 11). As the order to Drouot printed by Pélissier says two, and that to Bertrand five, one concludes that the escort varied in number. The Treasurer, Peyrusse, who perforce had to practise economy, puts down the comparatively small sum of 378 francs for the keep of the Polish Light Horse during the first quarter of 1815 (Appendix, p. 62). One doubts whether even that payment was made, seeing that the expenses incurred for their transport to Elba originally in 1814 were not settled till 1818—when the Imperial obligations might well have been considered a dead letter! (*Ibid.*, p. 143). Pélissier, too, mentions the arrears of pay due to the Poles for 1814 on their leaving Elba (p. 274).

A dozen or more Poles were left behind in charge of the ordnance. Pellet (p. 116) says exactly a dozen, whilst the *Moniteur* (March 23) makes it eighteen, putting at 100 the number which landed in France.

² See Appendix A.

he must have given proof of certain social and personal qualities which drew unto him the regard of his commanding officer, Jerzmanowski, and of the Grand-Marshal alike. The former's friendship he retained through life,¹ whilst Bertrand must seemingly have been beholden to him for some service of importance, seeing that from Elba onwards he showed an attention towards and an interest in the young man which one cannot otherwise explain. We shall find proofs of that as we proceed. No doubt Piontkowski, though not intellectual, was in educational equipment far above the average Elban trooper. He spoke and wrote several languages very fairly, and possessed an excellent memory; he had a good knowledge of the world and of his profession; he could be relied upon in an emergency; and, whilst never averse from a little embroidery when telling a story, in matters of moment, financial or other, he was strictly scrupulous. Add thereto that rarest of virtues, gratitude.

When Napoleon embarked on the *Inconstant* with the 400 Grenadiers originally allowed him by the Treaty, the Polish Squadron was accommodated almost in its entirety on the *St. Esprit*, the rough-and-ready seizure of which Peyrusse gives an amusing account of.² The quarters were so cramped that even the few horses they intended taking had to be sacrificed, only the officers retaining their mounts; and Piontkowski and his fellow-troopers started bravely upon that adventurous march to Paris, tramping in the van up hill and down dale through the snow, cheerfully carrying their saddles and bridles—

¹ See p. 167. There are a good many references in the Elba writers to the Baron, mostly of a military nature. Labadie, in addition, tells of the 'superb dinners,' and Laborde of the 'brilliant balls' he gave.

² P. 273.

' bowed beneath the weight of this enormous baggage,' as Fleury de Chaboulon puts it. It was not till Grenoble was reached, probably, that the Poles were enabled to cut their customary figure, and thenceforward rode either at the head or on the wing of the ever-growing army. On the last day or so, Laborde tells us, they pushed on swiftly in order to receive Napoleon when he triumphantly entered Fontainebleau, which he had quitted eleven months before.

What Piontkowski did in Paris during the Hundred Days is impossible to determine exactly. He resided at the Hôtel d'Aumont, and may possibly have met his future wife there. One infers from the *Letters* that he attended most of those reviews Napoleon held, at the rate of three or four a week, previous to setting out upon his last Campaign; and he presumably did not let the grass grow under his feet, for we find that on April 16 the subaltern turned trooper once more regains his lost rank, and is that day promoted to a Lieutenancy in the Cavalry. As no regiment was mentioned, he addresses a petition¹ to Davoust on April 25, asking to be appointed to the Staff or the Hussars. This *supplique*, warmly endorsed by Drouot, is forwarded on May 1 to the War Office, with the result that the petitioner is sent to the 7th, and later to the 2nd, Lancers. With these he took part in the fighting in Belgium, and may have been one of that very body of Polish Light Horse who speared Sir William Ponsonby to death at Waterloo.² Incidentally, the rôle which his well-meaning but hyperbolical biographer makes him play during the Campaign is exceedingly diverting. Piontkowski himself could never have penned such a flamboyant *farrago*!

¹ See Appendix A.

² *Morning Chronicle*, August 8, 1815.

With the fallen Emperor's retirement to La Malmaison on June 25 we tread upon firmer ground, for it is here that Piontkowski introduces himself to us in the *Letters*. He seems to have been drawn thither chiefly out of genuine, if quixotic, devotion to Napoleon, but may have had an intuition that Bertrand might do something handsome for him. Nor was he wrong. The Grand-Marshal, when still at the Elysée, gave him a written permit¹ to accompany the Emperor, drawn up in like terms to those delivered to Planat and the orderly officers, and apparently procured him a promotion, for on that permit, and in every other document thenceforward, Piontkowski figures as Captain. It is impossible to time exactly this accretion of rank which at a subsequent period, Lowe, of all persons, called into question.² You remember that Gourgaud was created General three days after Waterloo, when, as M. Masson tells us, 'the Empire no longer existed'—in his letter to Lowe of June 10, 1818, Gourgaud refers to himself as General *at Waterloo*.³ Possibly—nay, most probably—when the Emperor was solicited by Bertrand to let the young Polish Lieutenant follow his fortunes and granted that favour, he vouchsafed besides the 'additional act' of a Captaincy, which brought its recipient into line with the other followers of the second class. Without labouring the point, we may fairly assume that this higher rank, which at the time itself only the atrabilious Planat begrudges him, was bestowed upon Piontkowski in as official a manner as most of the appointments made in that chaotic fortnight,

¹ See Appendix A.

² On the very day, too, that Piontkowski had received yet further promotion, and been made *Chef d'Escadron* (C.O., 247.6). Lowe, be it said, did not know of this last till much later (L.P., 20,119, f. 351).

³ L.P., 20,204, f. 52.

when the prerogatives of sovereignty were vested, with like effect, in Louis, Fouché, and Napoleon, according to latitude.

Of his journey to Rochefort we have two versions from the pen of Piontkowski : that in the text of the *Letters*, and that I give as a footnote ; the latter is taken from the *Biography*, where it is quoted from an old letter. The two accounts, written, it would seem, at an interval of some years, are in perfect accord, exhibiting but one or two variations of a negligible character. When Cabany curbs his own riotous fancy and lets his hero speak, one generally comes by the truth ; no sooner does he take up his pen again than he places the Captain upon the *Bellerophon*, and leaves him there for the journey. Piontkowski was not the only Pole who thought to accompany the Emperor. Montholon deposes there were 'several,' and regrets he cannot recall their names.¹ He need not have overtaxed his memory, for they were only four all told. Baron Jerzmanowski, that bright and particular Polar star of Elba, got no farther than La Malmaison. He was to follow Napoleon 'as soon as his son was established on the throne' : if the first was contingent upon the second, no wonder the Exile had to forego the society of a man who would have done much to enliven the little Longwood Court. Then there was a certain 'Stupinski,' according to Gourgaud,² who was very likely the same with Skoronski, the Elba Lieutenant. The diarist might the rather have misspelt him 'Stupidski,' for at the last moment, 'just as the carriage was moving off' from La Malmaison, he insisted upon bundling himself and his wife into the A.D.C.'s conveyance. The lady was pretty, and Gourgaud was the most susceptible of men ; but the time was ill-chosen, the pair perform were

¹ *Récits*, i. 26.

² *Journal*, ii. 557.

turned adrift at the first stopping-place, Rambouillet. Thirdly came Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz, also of the Elban Squadron (then brother-Captain to Balinski), who got as far as the *Northumberland*, where we shall find him anon. Fourthly came Piontkowski himself. Two main routes were chosen by the fugitives. Whilst the Emperor, with Rovigo, Bertrand and Beker, posted by Vendôme, Tours, Poitiers, and Niort, and entered Rochefort from the north-east, and Gourgaud followed close upon their heels, the others fetched a compass after Niort and reached the seaport *viâ* Saintes. Piontkowski had charge of Madame Bertrand and her children, and acquitted himself of this friendly duty, imposed upon him by the Grand-Marshal, with tact and punctuality. One incident he relates is not unamusing. On the alarms and excursions that marked the sojourn at Rochefort and the Island of Aix I need not dwell: they have been exhaustively described by M. Houssaye and others. The rôle the Captain played was necessarily very small, but his witness at first hand to the events of those days of sorrow and suspense has at least the value of corroboration, and furnishes us besides with one or two novel and graphic touches. When at 7 a.m., on July 15, Napoleon boarded the *Bellerophon*, the whole of his suite, officers and servants, followed him, and were somehow accommodated for the night.¹ On the 16th, at 10 a.m.,

¹ It is at this juncture that we first meet with Piontkowski's name in reports, journals, etc., and always with some novel distortion. Maitland gives him in his list as 'Prontowski,' whilst Bonnefoux enters him as 'Pointkorski' on the *Bellerophon*, and again as 'Protocosky' on the cutter. Less 'proto' than protean! The Prefect's first list is quoted by various journals—the *Times*, *Courier*, *Débats*, *Morning Chronicle*; the *Quotidienns* makes him 'Pronowski'—and sundry writers like Fabry, Mayer de St. Paul, Tyder, and others. Home, Bowerbank, and Graebke have no occasion to mention him, the latter saying that the enumeration of the Colonels and Captains would be tedious.

whilst the Emperor was proceeding to the *Superb* to luncheon with the Admiral, seven officers and eight servants were transferred to the *Myrmidon*. Amongst the former was Piontkowski, who, during that one day spent on Maitland's vessel, had had sufficient opportunities to observe both the English and the French to make his account read like that of an eye-witness: two or three items, however, he must have gleaned from one or another at Torbay. That anchorage, whose beauty evoked the great Prisoner's admiration, was reached on the 24th, the very day, by a coincidence, that the Duchesse d'Angoulême was leaving Portsmouth in *H.M.S. Forth*, to return to her native land.¹ Two days later the *Bellerophon*, *Myrmidon*, and *Slaney* sailed for Plymouth,² and there Piontkowski, amongst others, was transferred to, first, the *Liffey*, on the 28th and then to the *Eurotas* on July 31 or August 1: the Logs differ, and Planat, who misdates the former removal, does not date the latter at all.

Of the farewell scene on the *Northumberland* on

¹ See Appendix C.

² M. Albert Schuermans, in his *Itinéraire Général de Napoléon Ier*, makes the *Bellerophon* proceed first to Plymouth (22nd), then to Torbay (24th), and then back again to Plymouth (26th). His monumental work of patient research and collation is so invaluable to all writers upon Napoleon that it is to be hoped he will correct in his next edition what, for him, is an inexplicable error. Also a few trifling misdates, wrong names of persons and ships, etc. (*Eurotas* for *Eurydice*, *Ceylon* for *Havannah*), in the St. Helena period might be seen to. Buonavita and Gentilini, for instance, did not leave the island together. Whilst on the subject, might I suggest to the authorities of the British Museum that they should procure M. Schuermans' *vade-mecum* in book form. Reference to it in 'penny numbers,' tied with a dirty tape, is apt to be tiresome! The edition, to be sure, was limited to 500 copies, of which the first 200 were not placed upon the market. Still, the trouble I had personally in procuring of late copy 117 was not of such an arduous nature as need deter the scouts of our great public Library.

August 7, there are roughly a dozen contemporary accounts, half being from the pen of spectators. Most of these mention Piontkowski and his passionate, not to say hysterical, entreaties to accompany Napoleon, even as a servant. But they fall into two classes: those which refer to the Captain pure and simple, and those which confuse him and his superior officer and compatriot, Lieutenant-Colonel Schultz, together, and form a composite 'Polish officer,' to whom they give the stature and the wounds of the latter, with the tears and supplications and the epistle of the former. This variation has, I think, escaped notice hitherto. For instance, Hone writes: 'At the parting, all wept, but particularly Savary and a Polish officer (six feet two inches high), who had been exalted from the ranks by Napoleon. He clung to his master's knees; wrote an interesting letter to Lord Keith, entreating permission to accompany him even in the most menial capacity, which could not be admitted.'¹ Again, Boyce says: 'A Polish colonel was particularly hurt. He had accompanied Buonaparte through most of his campaigns; he had received seventeen wounds in his service, and now, on his knees, with tears in his eyes, he entreated that he might be permitted to go with him, though it were in the most menial capacity.'² Mayer de St. Paul respects the two identities, but confuses the ranks: 'The persons who were not to accompany the Emperor were sent on board the *Eurotas*. They were very loath to part with their Master, especially the Polish officers. Buonaparte took leave of them individually. Colonel Pistowski, a Pole, offered to go to St. Helena as a servant.'³ The *Courier* of August 10 says practically the same thing, giving besides to Piontkowski, the

¹ *Interesting Particulars*, 1816, p. 7.

² *Second Usurpation*, ii. 397.

³ *Itinéraire*, p. 61.

'seventeen wounds' rightly due to Schultz, and adding that a special order was issued not to let any Polish officer go with Napoleon. The *Morning Chronicle* of August 11 is a mere repetition, with the same misspelling. For exactly two calendar months the sympathies of the warm-hearted young ladies of Plymouth went out to the 'faithful Pistowski' (possibly for its reminiscence of pistachio !), and it is not until October 11 that he regains the semblance of his name in the Press.

Of the accounts which steer clear of the above-mentioned confusion, Lyttelton's is the most interesting. So graphic is it that I may be pardoned for quoting it *in extenso* :

'But there were two Poles, one of a pretty advanced age, the other in the prime of his youth, whose air and demeanour were exceedingly striking. The elder, a venerable old man, of almost gigantic stature, was altogether one of the most singular and picturesque figures I ever beheld. What with his martial air, the sadness but composed gravity of his aspect, and the peculiar effect of his Polish dress, reminding one, as it naturally did, of the affecting history of his much-injured country, it was impossible to look without emotion on this noble veteran, thus following his adopted sovereign in the last extremities of his fortune, and enduring, as it were, a second exile for his sake. The appearance of the younger man, who either felt more or was less able to control the expression of his feelings, was moving in the extreme. He had nothing remarkable in his figure or features ; but his grief and the agony he endured at being forced away from Buonaparte surpassed any suffering I ever witnessed, and were irresistibly affecting. They both went up to Lord Keith, entreating to be allowed to go to St. Helena ; the elder, with an earnest but with a

manly and settled look ; the young man, openly in tears, urging his request over and over again, long after the other had given up his as hopeless, and saying in the most piteous manner : "*Si je renonce à mon grade.*" He wanted to be allowed to pass as a servant, the number of officers permitted to accompany Buonaparte being complete. When he found that all his entreaties were in vain, he seemed to be plunged into a state of distraction, his eyes were almost overflowing with tears, he clenched his Polish cap convulsively in one hand and kept perpetually touching his brow with the other, talking to himself, and running from one port-hole to another with such a look of wild despair, that I thought he would have flung himself overboard. His name was Pentowsky, or something like it—not Poniatowsky. To my great delight I heard soon afterwards that our Government had given orders that this faithful and affectionate creature should be allowed to go to St. Helena with Sir Hudson Lowe.'¹

Other eye-witnesses were much more matter-of-fact in their references to Piontkowski than Lyttelton, who, amongst all his picturesque touches, misses what must have been the most salient feature of all : the contrast in stature, for the Captain was very short, with very mobile features. Maitland, Warden, Glover just state his entreaties—the first is almost cynical² and the last

¹ Lyttelton's narrative appeared originally in 1836, was reprinted fully in *Notes and Queries* in 1872, in part in the *New Review* for September 1, 1894, and the *Revue Bleue* for September 8, 1894, and lastly by Mr. Shorter in 1908.

² 'Capt. Prontowski, a Pole, was allowed to proceed to St. Helena some time after the *Northumberland* sailed. Why this indulgence was granted to him I never clearly understood ; but it was said to be in consequence of the representations he made to the British Government of the very strong attachment he entertained to his fallen master—a feeling, as far as I could judge,

dismisses him with 'Plaisir' (i.e., Planat), on to the *Eurotas*, after the sad farewell.¹ Here were the next ten days spent, in company with the six brother-officers of the *Myrmidon* and the unpleasurable Planat, who was nursing his bitter disappointment at having been supplanted at the last moment by Gourgaud. No wonder, then, that on the 17th, when they announced to Piontkowski that the appeal he had made had been granted by the Government, and that he, and he only, was free to follow Napoleon to St. Helena, whilst the others were deported to Malta, the ex-Secretary and Lieutenant-Colonel referred to his more fortunate junior as a 'kind of madman.' If Piontkowski's antics of joy on that occasion were on a par with the demonstrations of grief described by Lyttelton on the 7th, very possibly Planat's paragraph was not inspired merely by sea-green envy and *mal de mer*. Pending his embarkation in some vessel bound for St. Helena, Piontkowski was transferred to the *St. George*, then at her moorings in the Hamoaze. As an item of interest the removal is noticed in the Press,² as is also his marriage with Mademoiselle Mélanie Despout, which he refers to in the *Letters*, and which took place

which prevailed with equal force in the breasts of all those who accompanied him from France' (p. 228).

¹ The names of the officers who came from the *Eurotas* are given, ending as follows: 'Capt. Piontkowski and Lieutenant-Colonel Plaisir, the major part of whom appeared affected on quitting their *quondam* master, most particularly Piontkowski, who after using every entreaty in vain to be allowed to accompany Bonaparte, solicited most earnestly to be allowed to become a servant. But this was also refused, and they all returned' [to the *Eurotas*] (p. 120).

² 'A Captain Pistowski, a Pole, whom Buonaparte raised from the ranks, and who was particularly desirous of going with him, has been put on board the *St. George* at Plymouth until an opportunity offers to send him out to St. Helena, our Government having been pleased to attend to the prayer of his petition to this effect' (*Morning Chronicle*, August 30).

on board ship on October 4.¹ She was a very pretty and accomplished Frenchwoman, who had lost her parents in the Revolution and had been trained as a professional singer. She had an extremely independent nature and a will of her own, and on several occasions in later years showed herself very much the 'grey mare'—as one might expect from her name. The honeymoon was cut down to four days, and on October 8 Piontkowski sailed in the storeship *Cormorant*, 'per Navy Board Order, dated September 30,' as the Log shows. His heart's wish was accomplished, and the sorrow of parting with his so recent bride was lessened, one feels sure, by the prospect of linking his fate, at whatsoever distance, with that of the illustrious Captive of St. Helena, and the vision of sowing even in that barren soil the seeds of immortality! And on that long and stormy passage, when the chief distractions, it appears, were 'making oakum,' harpooning porpoises and observing Aldebaran, the impressionable young Pole must for the first time have gazed upon the huge Atlantic billows with a child's wonder, little aware, maybe, that their rhythmic rise and fall was prefiguring the incessant 'up and down' of his own troubled and tempestuous life.

The *Cormorant* came to 'with the best bower' in James' Bay on December 29, 1815, and on the morrow at noon Piontkowski presented himself at Longwood. He could

¹ 'Pistowsky, Bonaparte's favourite Polish officer, has sailed in the *Cormorant*, to join his master at St. Helena' (*Ibid.*, October 9).

'Capt. Ponitkowski, the officer so much attached to Bonaparte, has obtained permission to join him, and goes out in the *Cormorant*. He was married on Wednesday last [October 4] on board the *St. George* to a French lady who has been in that neighbourhood for some time past, but who is not allowed to accompany him' (*Ibid.*, October 11).

not have chosen a more auspicious date than the 30th. Napoleon that day, anticipating a noble sympathizer of our times, had guided the plough and himself traced a solitary furrow.¹ Here was a chance for the new-comer to turn his sword into a coulter, and to evoke the grandeur departed by speeding, if not the *Char*, at least the *charrue de l'État*. Cockburn, too, had made things socially easier for the Exiles by apprizing Poppleton that the Grand-Marshal's passes were now valid.² Lastly, the Emperor, after ten weeks' consideration, had decided to make his three Followers at Longwood an allowance of £320 a year, and the additional Pole arrived in the nick of time to be taken on at half-price. It is well this coincidence has escaped his detractors, else they might have imputed to him a mercenary prescience of which he was as innocent as of the tortuous cunning he has been credited with.

What Piontkowski's impressions were of St. Helena as a place of residence is outlined in his Declaration: what he thought of the General's 'Family,' as Lowe terms it, will appear from the *Letters*. The four ill-assorted members of the Suite had, like some wry-limbed quadruped, already got into their unlovely stride; and Napoleon, sundering that triple shibboleth of his Revolutionary days,³ was even now preaching 'Fraternity' to

¹ *Mémorial* (1823), ii. 113-116.

² L.P., 20, 114, f. 309.

³ As early as the autumn of 1789 the cards of admittance of the various districts of the 'Bonne Ville de Paris' bear in the corners the words 'Liberté,' 'Egalité,' and 'Fraternité' respectively, with the addition of 'Patriotisme' for the fourth. In the official documents and letters of the Revolution, more especially of the Convention period, the printed *en-tête*, with or without engraved vignette, is usually 'Liberté, Egalité et Fraternité,' or 'Egalité, Liberté ou la Mort.' But many changes were rung, often at the whim of individuals, and 'Humanity,' 'Justice,' 'Indivisibility,' 'Unity,' 'Felicity,' 'Probity,' 'Peace,' etc., were introduced. It was as well, perhaps, platonically to parade these

the least adelphian brotherhood that ever came together — 'Liberty,' alas! there was none; 'Equality,' precious little, in the light of Gourgaud's everlasting quarrels as to precedence, which usually lead to a 'purge' on the morrow! The jealous *bouderies* (which are the burden of the *Mémorial*, as *ennui* is the *Journal's* and an Italian *schimpfwort* the *Voice's*) were becoming gossip beyond the Limits themselves, and must, I fancy, have first suggested to Piontkowski a certain bitter phrase he took twelve years to commit to paper.¹ Las Cases, for his

sounding abstractions on paper, seeing how little obvious they were in sober fact. Hoche, like a practical man, has merely 'Res, non Verba.' The catch-phrase lasted through the Directoire into the Consulate. When it reached Italy 'Fraternity' was replaced by 'Virtue,' and we get the comprehensive 'Liberté Générale' as late as 1797. One rather aggressive Army document of the Year III. makes an exceptionally fine show: 'Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, Humanité—Justice à Tous, Paix aux Bons, Guerre aux Méchants, Mort aux Tyrans, Bonheur aux Peuples.' Bar 'Children half-price,' there was really nothing left to vouchsafe! The subscription of letters of the Years II. and III. is almost always 'Salut et Fraternité'; in more private effusions 'Vale et Ama.' 'Respect' returns with the Directoire and the renascence of hierarchies. The most caustic satire on the *sans-culotte* spell was perhaps that print of Stockdale's in July, 1799, in which 'Liberty' is represented as an octogenarian in tatters chained by the neck to a post, 'Equality' by a couple of asses nuzzling each other, and 'Fraternity' by a naked barbarian with a club beating out the brains of his fellow lying defenceless on the ground. Times have moved, and to-day the old man is in the Union and the savage is clothed, but the 'Equality' asses are still braying in the land!

¹ 'To describe the real situation of Napoleon [at St. Helena] I should have to enter into scandalous details concerning all the worries that were heaped upon him, which perhaps made it more difficult for him to manage his Household than to rule over his Empire in days gone by.' Cf. 'They are besides all at variance together, and, I feel almost assured, give Bonaparte more disquiet than comfort' (Lowe to Bathurst, L.P., 20,115, f. 350; 'Bonaparte told me this morning that he had recommended strongly to the French officers to go away, and that he would be more independent without them' (O'Meara to Reade, L.P., 20,116, f. 124).

more cultivated mind and his greater familiarity with Napoleon and, perhaps, too, for the subtle casuistry he was endowed with by French and English alike,¹ was heartily detested and distrusted by *ces Messieurs*, as he styles the two Generals at Longwood. Bertrand, owing to the superiority of his soul, the aloofness of his temperament, and the remoteness of his dwelling, saw little at that time of a trio that vexed him. Montholon by now had given the measure of his avaricious greed,² his plaguy officiousness, and his leasing. His wife, helped by her deft Josephine, was vieing sartorially with the other Countess at the Sunday dinner-parties and the Imperial readings from *Athalie*, and her rival (Milesian cut on Creole) did not take it lying down—the joint result in Napoleon's estimation being rather pathetic.³ Gourgaud, the super-bore, was indulging his umbrageous spleen to the full, and when not testing the wine⁴ or trying the 'Nymph'⁵ (or *vice versa*) was weighing in his pharmacist's brain, with rather more 'drams' than 'scruples,'

¹ 'He [Las Cases] is a man of considerable talents, high literary attainments, exceedingly specious, eloquent and insinuating, and is, or affects to be, a fanatic admirer, or rather adorer, of Napoleon' (Lowe to Somerset, L.P., 20,117, f. 365.)

² 'Montholon, that never-to-be-satisfied man, asked for Las Cases' rooms. . . . I really believe, if he had the whole premises, he would ask for part of Plantation House!' (Poppleton to Gorrequer, L.P., 20,208, f. 47). The incident of the hat snatched from Piontkowski, printed by Mr. Shorter, is even more edifying.

³ *Mémorial*, vi. 33.

⁴ 'Four or five days back there was no wine of any kind. Poppleton borrowed one dozen from the 53rd Mess. . . . The wine sent up [from the E.I.C.S. tores] gave them the colic, and they suspected it was adulterated with lead. Gourgaud wanted to test it himself' (O'Meara to Gorrequer, L.P., 20,116, f. 50). Soon after, the Stores claret was given up and the wine obtained from Messrs. Gladstone (*Ibid.*, f. 308).

⁵ Miss Robinson. It must have been trying for both, as, according to Poppleton, she spoke no French and Gourgaud no English (L.P., 20,117, f. 337).

which of his three companions he would have to call out, and whose 'claret' eventually tap! We know how he fastened upon Montholon and how Lowe grappled with the case. To Gourgaud, therefore, Piontkowski must have come as a timely diversion and brought a grateful respite from so ticklish a decision, and he ought to have cherished him for the altruistic rôle he unwittingly played. As a fact, he took an instant and jealous dislike to him. Whilst to Cockburn the new-comer was one more mouth to feed, to Gourgaud he was one more tongue to flatter. So he made the good-natured Pole his butt by word and pen, and treated him in a way which is shadowed in the *Letters*, and which deprives certain entries in the *Journal* of their impartiality, and in two or three cases of their truth.

Then seek the woman—and Piontkowski, though so recent a Benedick, sought her. He was not long in discovering Miss Robinson. More sprightly than Gourgaud and less catholic in his tastes, more fluent in his English and, I suspect, less slobbering in his suit, the Captain very soon must have cut out the General (indeed, but for the disparity in rank there would have been a fourth *cartel* to select from). His visits to the little cottage became so frequent that Lowe mistrusts them, invests them with political importance, and notifies them to Bathurst.¹ And there was certainly an 'Imperial element' about them—the Pole acts on occasion as the Emperor's messenger—which, given Robinson's personality,² will ever defy elucidation, like so many more and major things about the Captivity.

¹ Forsyth, ii. 463.

² A strange insular being this Robinson—like his namesake—about whom I gather little, and that contradictory. That Napoleon took a fancy to his daughter and honoured his cottage with his visits is certain. 'He visited him twelve or fourteen

What with the dislike of his immediate superior, the indifference of Las Cases¹ and the superciliousness of Montholon, Piontkowski's position at Longwood cannot have been very enviable, for all the Bertrands' friendliness, and the Emperor's recurrent kind thought and word; for, idle rumours to the contrary, Napoleon received him very graciously indeed. But he made the best of it. Less exacting at heart and less splendid in antecedents, he found a measure of content in the life of exile which

times, twice in one day' (O'Meara's interview with Lowe, L.P., 20,119, ff. 93-102). The humble 'yamstock' was more than flattered, and had the Emperor cared to avail himself of the Nymph's confidences about her early morning rambles in Long Wood, the father doubtless would have connived at it and turned it to account, as he did the Imperial 'tips' to his son (L.P., 20,115, f. 192). Yet we find him saying to a subaltern who has invited him to Mason's Stockhouse, that 'he had never shown any particular respect to General Bonaparte, nor would he even take off his hat to him, and if he thought his coming to his house was to pay his addresses to his daughter he would forbid his coming' (L.P., 20,204, f. 37). This in spite of the service Napoleon had done him by 'saving a cow' of his! The subaltern is so pleased that he plies the farmer with wine, when the latter suddenly unbosoms himself, toasts the Emperor, and imparts to his astonished host (whom he vainly endeavours to win over) an elaborate plan for the Captive's evasion, and asseverates that *he* is the man to set him free, and will make his fortune by so doing. A quaint sacerdotal smack is added by a reference to a 'golden candlestick' which is to form part of the reward (*Ibid.*, f. 35). *In vino veritas*, once more? Or was the other the truth? Or what?

¹ Las Cases mentions Piontkowski but once, apart from the mere record of his arrival and departure. At ii. 299 (Ed. 1823) he gives us a strange story of the Captain and a caricature, which for some reason undergoes an entire transformation in the next edition. Montholon has little more to say, his chief entries dealing with the circumstances of Piontkowski's deportation (Ed. 1847, i. 374-5, 390, 406, 408, 410, 422-3, 464-5). O'Meara is even less productive (Ed. 1822, i. 58, 62, 89, 116-120, 154, 165, 168). Add half a dozen entries all told for the three Commissioners, and the balance is Gourgaud. The latter makes repeated references to the Captain, most of which I shall deal with later, much of what he says being open to criticism or refutation.

so wretchedly irked the Frenchman, and, in the main, the ten months he spent on the Rock must, with their simple duties and simpler distractions, have been amongst the happiest in his chequered existence.

What do we gather of his daily routine ?

Indolent by nature (his fist shows that), he dawdles over his coffee and roll till, haply, Santini (who rises early and is a dead shot) lifts the flap of his tent or, later, taps at his casement and, with a Corsican smile, holds up the birds he has bagged. Put upon his mettle, Piontkowski slings his fowling-piece, silently vows to Fortune and Fluke alike, and strolls away to the eastward for what dubious sport the little wood will vouchsafe. One day it is a grey partridge, the next a blue dove or two; here he perforce respects 'the Governor's pheasants'; there he mischievously peppers a peacock. On one occasion at least the only victim is himself, and he returns with a wound in the eye, which evokes Napoleon's sympathy and calls for Warden's surgery, for the deponent is 'Sangrado.' Then to his duties. Napoleon, the more rightly for his being denied his rank, and for dynastic reasons, clings jealously to state and makes appointments that smack of St. Cloud.¹ Gourgaud, the A.D.C., is Master of the Horse, and Piontkowski takes up the functions of Equerry under him. As you know, there is no love lost between them and they have few tastes in common: the Nymph is one; another recalls Dr. Johnson and Kit Smart—neither has a passion for clean linen.² The Chief's position is much of a sinecure,

¹ 'His Household is to-day a Court, of which Bertrand is the Grand-Marshal, Las Cases Secretary of State, Montholon Lord Chamberlain, Gourgaud Aide-de-Camp général, Piontkowski Equerry, and Mme. Bertrand and Mme. de Montholon Ladies of Honour' (*Balmain's Reports*).

² 'Washing Bills for Longwood, £34 8s. 6d. for a fortnight. Gen. Gourgaud's and Capt. Piontkowski's bills have not been

and he is content, after his round and a few general orders, to pursue his hobbies and toast his soles before his extravagant saloon-fire, and leave the details to his subordinate. So that Piontkowski is drest in quite a little authority. He overlooks the French grooms and the English ostlers, lords it among the native stable-boys and displays sufficient tact to keep the heterogeneous *personnel* working together in fair harmony. And it is not 'all lavender.' They are a quarrelsome and a drunken lot,¹ and have their national jealousies. One English stableman, hight 'Talbot,' takes the liberty of hanging a terrier belonging to Gourgaud. Canine amenities indeed!² Doubtless the General had given the

sent up for some time' (L.P., 20,116, f. 72). The inference is easy.

¹ The intemperance and misbehaviour of the Englishmen, mostly soldiers, employed about the place added no little to the misery of life at Longwood. Poppleton complains on that score to Gourgaud, as if the Master of the Horse was to blame (L.P., 20,118, f. 383). Nicholls, with more sense, addresses himself to Reade: 'I shall be pleased if you will order Parkinson to his duty . . . He is too much of a *bruiser* for peace and quietness' (L.P., 20,125, f. 231). The acme was reached at the time the Last Illness was commencing, when one might really have expected a little more regard for the feelings and bodily safety of the Captive: 'In consequence of the continual drunkenness of Barnes, Handcock, and Dove (the stablemen), Ct. Bertrand has requested me to apply to get them exchanged. When Gen. Bonaparte went out in the phaeton yesterday evening, Barnes and Handcock were stripped and fighting in the stable-yard. Dove (who is one of the postillions) is of late so frequently drunk when driving the leaders that it is perfectly unsafe for Gen. Bonaparte to quit the Wood in his carriage' (Lutyens to Gorrequer, December 16, 1820, L.P., 20,131, f. 322). Reade suggests a reason: 'I attribute most of the drunkenness in the stables at Longwood owing (*sic*) to the facility with which they procure wine, principally through the means of Archambault's girl [Mary Ann Foss] and the Chinese' (L.P., 20,207, f. 305). Which seems far-fetched. We know from Gorrequer, Balcombe, Pierron, etc., exactly how much wine was provided for Longwood and how much was drunk, and the surplus was very small.

² L.P., 20,118, f. 97.

dog a French name. The Equerry sees to the supplies, and Balcombe's and Breame's orders and invoices pass through his hands; every now and then he writes them 'off his own bat' little epistles like the following, dated June 26, 1816:

'SIR,—I gave you a note on April 28 for the stable utensils. H. E. the Lt.-General [Lowe] approved my request, which comprised besides three English saddles and bridles, that, according to H. E.'s orders, were to be supplied as soon as the store-ships arrived. I therefore pray you to send me these articles which I badly need, as well as the two lanterns and lamps for the stables marked in the said note.

'Be good enough to send me a few quires of paper.

'(Signed) PIONTKOWSKI.'¹

Which is strictly to the point, deferential to the Governor, and quite ignores the Master of the Horse. Coming from a mews, the last request sets you wondering. The paper can't be for the horses—there was racing at Deadwood,² but no hoop-la tricks are recorded. It is hardly to patch up broken windows, for things never

¹ L.P., 20,115, f. 235.

² Spring and Autumn Meetings, in April and September. They were one of Lowe's bugbears, for they gave the Commissioners an opportunity of consorting with the Followers which he could hardly put his veto upon (L.P., 20,118, f. 302). The Emperor occasionally observed the racing through a spy-glass from his garden (*Ibid.*, f. 294), and in return afforded a telescopic view of himself to Montchenu and the others. The starters were mostly Cape horses and there was ample variety in the events. Nicholls mentions one Homeric contest between 'Regent' and 'Dolly' (L.P., 20,210, f. 2). The eponyms are apt! An interesting view of the Deadwood Races was lithographed by Victor Adam in the 'forties, from a sketch by Sainson. I have found no trace of a 'bookie' at St. Helena, but doubtless the Solomons 'did a bit on the sly'!

quite came to such shifts even at Longwood.¹ No ; it must be a personal order ; and Piontkowski, too, has fallen a victim to that passion for writing which, together with philoprogenitiveness, universally rages at St. Helena. (The men, we know, were everlastingly adding to the mails and the women to both sexes !) And what does *he* write ? There's no evidence that he keeps a Diary : no more than the rest could he have withstood the temptation of cooking it for publication. He is too humble a French scholar to crystallize the Imperial utterance, too uncertain of his English to translate it. He presumes not to join in the Plantation-Longwood logomachy. He can hardly require reams for Miss Robinson, seeing the frequency of his visits. Thus we are reduced to marital effusions—whether as a task or a pleasure is not for me to say. We know that he heard from his wife,² and Mrs. Skelton, after seeing her in London, deposes that she wrote him frequent letters, some of which may have miscarried.³ Doubtless his replies were punctual and dutiful, though, sad to relate, by this same token she appears never to have come by them : seeing the postal service⁴ and the censorship,

¹ Though there was occasionally much delay in replacing the panes : there are complaints from the Orderly Officer to that effect.

² Appendix B.

³ See p. 151.

⁴ Happy-go-lucky indeed ! Captain Mackay, of the *Minden*, is given at Longwood four open letters for Cockburn, then in the Bay. He reads them, pockets them, forgets them till his arrival in England, and then sends them to Bunbury (L.P., 20, 115, f. 18). Or : ' . . . the letter dropped on the road by the orderly to whom it was given ' (*Ibid.*, f. 150). Again : ' . . . the note that was given me by Gen. Montholon, which, in pulling out some memorandum, I dropped and lost ' (Poppleton to Gorrequer, L.P., 20, 117, f. 96) ; ' None of my clerks have, I find upon inquiry, any recollection of having received a packet of letters from the Foreign Office addressed to Bonaparte ' (Bathurst to Lucan, L.P., 20, 118, f. 295) ; ' Lady de Lancey takes the liberty of writing [in May,

small wonder! So we have it, I think: the home epistle; and Gourgaud's mother¹ is ably seconded by Piontkowski's wife. Failing a reunion in London or Paris, a stroll along the Boulevard or a saunter down Piccadilly, the old dame and the young, with thoughts flying to the Rock, must have had frequent communion in that capacious *cul-de-sac*, the bottom of His Majesty's mail-bag.

Luncheon Piontkowski takes with the three Followers—now and then with the Emperor. The *Letters* show us how uncongenial that *partie carrée* must have been to him, and why; and sure enough, when Raffles visits Longwood, he thinks the silence and attitude of the Pole at table worthy of comment.² So he cuts it short, and escapes

1817] to Mr. Goulburn in consequence of repeated complaints from Lady Lowe at St. Helena that she has not received one letter from her daughter or from Lady de L. (with whom she resides) since July last. Not less than 10 or 12 letters have been sent and not one received' (C.O., 247. 11); 'The irregular manner in which our letters arrive here is felt as a particular inconvenience. The Postmaster has now an account of no less than 17 private ships by which letters were forwarded from the General Post Office in England to the Cape of Good Hope for this Island during the last year, of which *not one* has yet reached us' (Lowe to Bathurst, L.P., 20,121, f. 236). And yet, on top of that, Bathurst rebukes Lowe for 'incurring needless expense' in having his despatches delivered in London by Masters of ships in person instead of entrusting them to the Post Office! (L.P., 20,132, f. 40).

¹ Gourgaud's classic mother undulates pleasantly through the Papers. Every two months or so one comes across the Baron's little note by which he politely thanks the Governor for the maternal letter transmitted, or begs him to seize the 'first occasion to Europe' for his own dutiful response. One gets to time these apparitions, and after a hundred or two pages of Las Cases or Lowe, those terse half-dozen lines (where the writer might have said so much) are as grateful as manna in the desert. That Gourgaud in his letters—often appended in copy—was by policy mendacious and humoured the old lady's solicitude with outrageously rosy accounts of Longwood is not the least refreshing feature.

² Letter to Hare, published in the *Daily Mail*, June 18, 1904.

to Hutt's Gate for the freer atmosphere of the Bertrands' society, which he repays by giving young Napoléon a riding-lesson. A game of skittles may follow, or even of billiards, if no Count or General is about the table. Then for the one outing of the Exiles, supposing he has retained the subaltern for that day. Piontkowski is sent to Jamestown on all sorts of commissions, more or less weighty, combined with the everlasting quest of the printed, or even the spoken, word for that poor, news-starved colony on the heights. He must have had an eye for furniture and bric-à-brac, possibly even a *penchant* for old prints, for we find him attending various sales, notably the Skeltons', invested with plenary powers to supplement by a successful bid the very scratch lot of stuff in the Longwood apartments. But it never passes the platonic. For the Governor despatches Reade, or Brooke, or Janisch,¹ or another to 'forbid the sale

¹ One of the most interesting of the minor characters of the Captivity. William Janisch—the *umlaut* was dropped at St. Helena—was sprung from the family of that Hamburg Senator Jänisch (or Jénisch), who granted his cover for Gourgaud's letters in 1819 (see p. 140) and who had sat in the Corps Législatif from 1812 till 1814. He went out in the *Northumberland*, as Clerk of the Commissariat under Ibbetson, at 7s. 6d., and then 15s., a day, with £60 a year for 'house, coal, and candles,' dispensed by Britannicus Wright, Island Paymaster. Seeing that Ibbetson himself had so little to do that on January 27, 1817, we find the Authorities suggesting he is 'of no use' and had better come home again (C.O., 247. 11), the duties that devolved upon his clerk must have been of the lightest description—*inter alia* he gave out the wines for Longwood (L.P., 20,121, f. 1) and bought the Government grain on incoming vessels. As he was further assisted by young Erskine Head, Janisch not unnaturally sought additional employment and emolument, and presently went into Lowe's personal service as a kind of confidential factotum. He was a good linguist, wrote well (though not polemically enough to meet the Governor's requirements in one direction at least—L.P., 20,130, f. 103), was very shrewd and ambitious, and seems to have been a man of engaging presence and disposition. Lowe took a fancy to him, invited him to Plantation

to the Foreigners.' Why? one fails to see—an infringement, I suppose, of 2 Lowe (1816) Cap. 13, § 9, §§ 48. Doubtless they had forgotten the 'g'! So that in the

functions, and did his best to promote his interests both at St. Helena and after. Janisch, who *ex officio* had passed the bread standard and knew which side lay the butter, requited that solicitude with a filial devotion of the cupboard variety. There are some dozen letters of his to the Governor. One, in 1821, rather fine in style and feeling, deplores the departure of Lowe, in whom the writer 'will lose not only a Patron and Benefactor, but a Father' (L.P., 20, 133, f. 282).

Of his own flesh and blood in the Vaterland Janisch was unmindful, and a letter in the Records asks anxiously after him: 'he has not written for 2 or 3 years, and he may have succumbed to the climate.' So far from dying of dysentery, he had a good time at Jamestown, and got about quite a little in civil and military circles. Occasionally he goes up to Longwood in a semi-official way, and 'dines and sleeps' with Blakeney or Nicholls or Dr. Verling (L.P., 20, 212, f. 51). Napoleon's death affected him, or at least his pocket. He had made enough to buy a little landed property and suffered from the depression—or rather, if truth be told, the lack of opportunities for speculation—that set in after Napoleon's death, and ten years later was still acute ('General distress amongst landed proprietors dating from the sudden change of affairs consequent on the demise of Napoleon'—*St. Helena Records*, 1832). After Lowe's departure Janisch kept him posted up very deferentially in the gossip of the Island, and opened his heart to him on the subject of his own prospects. One item is piquant: the Accountant De Fountain's defalcations to the tune of £15,000, in collusion with Britannicus aforementioned, now less Wright than wrong! There was an infection in the air of these small islands which, as Theodore Hook put it—and *he* knew!—left you 'something wrong with the chest.' [Incidentally, everybody at St. Helena was 'on the make,' to use an expressive vulgarity. On the extortions of the Balcombes, Carrolls, Barkers, Solomons, and the rest, it is not necessary to dwell. Montholon and Gourgaud always had those codicils in view—not so Bertrand, I think. Montchenu's everlasting theme is money. O'Meara sought a rich marriage and failed—on the Island—and as early as August, 1816, is speculating upon what 'he can save up in a few years in case of the demise of the General' (L.P., 20, 115, f. 385). Lowe was the exception: he entertained too freely. But his D.A.G. made up for it. Reade had a talent for stepping into snug little berths—like that of 'Vendue Master' (whatever it may be) at £300 a year in October,

case I've instanced, though the Lieutenant-Governor and his wife have taken away the kindest memories of Napoleon and his circle, and sundry messages and mementoes to boot, like scraps of his handwriting,¹ the

1818 (L.P., 20,124, f. 90)—when their occupants were invalided home; and he was never averse from huckstering in horseflesh and the like. Minor officers followed suit; civilians likewise, such as Janisch himself. All sorts of *infra dig.* deals are on record. Small farmers of the Robinson type gladly 'placed' their daughters at Jamestown or Longwood—often for sacrifice. As for mere servants, it was the be-all and end-all of life to them. There are letters from all the Emperor's retainers, from the faithful Marchand down to stop-gap cooks, in which they send home money, assess the value of Napoleon's gifts to them, dwell on their gratuities, and tell of the 'good they are doing for themselves' (L.P., 20,158; L.P., 20,204 *passim*). Pierron and Gentilini were especially distinguished. The Chinese would do anything for cash and were chronic borrowers. At the general wind-up in May, 1821, ten of them owed Bertrand's steward over 800 dollars! (L.P., 20,133, f. 197). As for the 'Tommies' of the 66th and the St. Helena Regiment about the place, they were thieves to a man.] In June, 1823, Janisch married Major Seale's daughter, thus identifying himself with the 'Yamstocks.' His son, whom he christened Hudson in memory of Lowe, rose to be in his turn Governor of St. Helena and a C.M.G. Janisch published an interesting *Exhumation of the Remains of Napoleon Bonaparte* (1840), at which he was present, and to his son we are indebted for the *Extracts from the St. Helena Records*.

¹ The Lieutenant-Governor and his wife had been on excellent terms with the Exiles, and at her farewell visit Mrs. Skelton volunteered to execute Longwood commissions in London, convey messages and call on friends (L.P., 20,115, f. 132); and in her last note 'Col. Skelton joins in every kind wish towards the little circle from whom they have received such flattering and obliging attentions.' Lowe got wind of this and promptly remonstrated with the Colonel himself before he could sail on the impropriety of his charging himself with anything whatever from his Prisoners (*Ibid.*, f. 136). Months after, O'Meara, fresh from a talk with Napoleon, imparted (in his second rôle) to Lowe that 'his suspicions had fallen on Col. Skelton and his wife,' which Lowe was only too ready to confirm in his letter to Bathurst of October 12, 1816 (L.P., 20,116, ff. 146-150). In March, 1817, Lowe again returned to the charge in his letter to Goulburn (L.P., 20,118, f. 225). But, then, the vindictive persistence of his pursuit of any man he had got his knife into was one of Lowe's

Exiles on their side are disallowed even the Skeltonian dust-bin which has gone to the hammer from the very house they are now tenanting.

On these rides to the town Piontkowski is now and then accompanied by Montholon or Gourgaud ; but his habitual comrade is young Las Cases. They are attended by Lieutenant FitzGerald. They needs must go slowly, for apart from the rocks and the ruts, the pickets and the 'Punchbowl,' Emmanuel suffers from the heart. At least, his father says so, and the complaisant O'Meara aggravates the affection by tricking it out in dog-Latin.¹ What really is the matter with the youth is Gorrequer's trouble—over-writing²—and no sooner is he at the Cape, and stops his quill, than he pulls round magically, and the 'cure' is ascribed to that Chevalier d'Eon among Doctors, the noted Miss 'James' Barry.³ Howbeit, for all his cardiac weakness, perhaps because of it, young Las Cases is not averse from an *affaire de cœur*, and when in town generally picks up with a petticoat or two—whence

most marked characteristics ; Skelton, Lascelles, Balcombe, Keating, Malcolm, and others to witness—especially Malcolm !

¹ L.P., 20,117, f. 321.

² On October 14, 1817, Gorrequer addressed Lowe officially complaining of the amount of writing he had to do, which had induced 'severe pains in the left breast and headaches.' He claims a respite, and adds : 'For 18 months I have been constantly writing. Its effects on my health are now seriously marked' (L.P., 20,233, f. 44). Wynyard was nominally the Military Secretary and Gorrequer was only the 'Acting.' It must be confessed that he was a born actor and passed protagonist at once. One really wonders what Wynyard did to earn his pay except set down an occasional interview and take the hygrometric readings of the Longwood wall-papers. On the whole he remains in the background as far as the Detention goes ; possibly he was concerned chiefly with the soldiery as such. It is a tribute to Gorrequer that, in spite of the post he filled, the Exiles liked him. Of the everlasting trio, Governor, D.A.G., and A.D.C., he was the one gentleman.

³ Meynell's *Conversations* (1911), p. 50.

trouble on one occasion¹—and while FitzGerald boyishly interprets and (*quis custodiet?*) adds sweet nothings of his own, Piontkowski moves off to Lewis Solomon's emporium and, under the pretext of having his watch repaired, slips into the Jew's hand a letter or two of Montholon's for secret transmission to Europe—and *much* besides.² So in mind content, each for his own

¹ L.P., 20,116, f. 37.

² The three wise men from the East—Samuel, Joseph, and Lewis—whom the Followers and others repaired to, if not for myrrh, at least for the spice of local scandals, were about the only Jews in the place, and as such incurred—and it turned out deservedly—the suspicion of Lowe. Though they could not help their ancient patronymic, it was, in the Governor's opinion, 'a Name which almost implies some predisposition to engage in illicit speculations' (L.P., 20,126, f. 411). The three kept the local emporium, where everything from diamonds down to cloves and tintacks could be procured. Samuel (or Saul) in addition catered for board and lodging (Basil Jackson deposes, at 35s. per diem) and, as a third string, owned a printing-press, and brought out the *St. Helena Register* and the *St. Helena Press*, of which he was part-proprietor. Lewis, who had settled in 1814, specialized rather in jewellery and watch-making (as was apt for the nephew by marriage of the notorious Goldsmith), and was entrusted with the regulation of Napoleon's two watches, 'one gold and one silver, with chimes,' which the long sea-voyage had affected (*Morning Chronicle*, December 11, 1815). Meanwhile the Emperor purchased from him a gold repeater for £40 (which he presented to Marchand in 1820—L.P., 20,158, f. 14); so that the Solomons had reason from the first to be well disposed towards the new arrivals. As time proceeded they saw money in the clandestine and the seditious, and their shop became the resort of local malcontents and, if not quite a Cave of Adullam, at least a Club des Jacobins. Everyone who had a grievance against Lowe or Reade, or a piquant anecdote about Brooke or Bingham, naturally gravitated thither and publicly delivered himself of the matter to an appreciative circle. Even young subalterns and midshipmen were amongst the number, doubtless out of bravado. Sometimes mine host himself would set the ball rolling, and we have an official complaint from Captain Theed of the *Leveret* that old Solomon has slandered him (L.P., 20,120, f. 212). The trio, who congenitally made capital of everything, turned the Service jealousy to account, and if they disparaged the Governor overtly, did so because they felt sure of the Admiral's

reason—a duty done, a trick played, a tryst appointed—the trio make their way back to Longwood. Once, on September 8, there's quite an unpleasantness in the town, and Piontkowski, according to various diarists, 'then and there threatens to horsewhip Reade.' Big words, indeed, if they were true. As a fact, the D.A.G. had despatched a trooper to lead Piontkowski's horse up the street while he was paying a call, and the Captain, on coming out, had deemed it a liberty and threatened to horsewhip the man if it occurred again; which is not quite the same thing.¹ On one occasion, too, Piont-

support. Even Plampin favoured them to the detriment of the Government stores, and gave them first refusal of incoming grain, fodder, etc., and not to Ibbetson or Greentree (L.P., 20,207, f. 146). Like Balcombe, they appear to have entertained naval men and ship's officers, no doubt of a lower rating, and there is an indignant protest of Solomon senior to Lowe, who had taken exception to a party given to certain E.I.C. officers, in which the writer expresses his surprise that 'an association with my family should be considered either a degradation or a crime' (L.P., 20,233, f. 152). There are several passages in the Papers illustrating the part played by the Solomons in the secret transmission of European letters to and from the Exiles. The most interesting perhaps is to this effect: When, after the Emperor's death, the English officials were poking about in the Longwood apartments to see what they might discover, they came upon a lot of half-consumed papers in Montholon's grate. These were rescued and pieced together and the blanks made good. They turned out to be clandestine memoranda from Lewis Solomon to Montholon, dated July, 1819, in which the former apprized the Count, amongst other facts, that his letters had been duly forwarded by the *Favourite*, that O'Meara had arrived in England, that Stokoe had had to give up Bertrand's letter to him and the King of Rome's portrait, that he (Solomon) had seen some papers of Montholon's destroyed by 'a gentleman' (? Reade) in his presence, and, amongst other fictions, that war would soon commence between England and America, and that Lowe was soon to be relieved by Lord Hill and Plampin by Lord Torrington (L.P., 20,128, f. 3). By such visions as those was the Captive deluded—and, let us hope, comforted!

¹ Reade disliked Piontkowski and does not disguise the fact. That he did so, whilst he affected O'Meara (who writes to his

kowski calls upon Balmain (the 'stranger' of Stürmer's report of July 4, 1817), and tries to inveigle him into a political pronouncement upon the treatment Napoleon is subjected to. But the Russian bids the Pole 'good-day,' and ever after there is a palpable 'partition' between them. Twice or thrice, too, he joins Cockburn's group on the Marino, and the Admiral treats him noticeably well, we are told. The sailor must have had some sort of bluff liking for him. But those are exceptions that seldom delay the return. If the sun is not too rapidly setting, the Equerry takes a further stroll towards Fisher's Valley or the Alarm House, and drops in at Mason's or Legg's, Robinson's or Wells's, Torbett's or Dr. Kay's for a cup of tea—even Napoleon was soon anglicized into that particular solace—and for the twentieth time (and every time with a little more embroidery) relates the stirring march he took part in a year or so before. But the gun punctuates his last period, and in the brief twilight he hurries back, and passes the Gate as they are posting the sentries. One more round of the stables—a look at the coach-house—a glance at the kennels, and the Equerry thinks he has earned his pay.

Then dinner—the event of the day, especially at St. Helena. It may be a mere snack, previous to the *Rivals* at the Playhouse or to a ball at the Balcombes';¹ but habitually it is a matter of courses. On great occasions the Pole is honoured by the Emperor; sometimes he dines *en ville* with the Skeltons, or elsewhere; less

'dear Sir Thomas' his coarsest anecdotes), redounds decidedly to the credit of the Pole. A man is known by the company he does *not* keep.

¹ 'I dined with the Admiral yesterday, and there was a dance afterwards at Balcombe's. Piontkowski was there accompanied by an officer of the 53rd' (Reade to Lowe, L.P., 20, 207, f. 11).

THE FIFTEENTH OF AUGUST AT
ST. HELENA.

From an aquatint by Roemhild, published by
Dubreuil, in the possession of the author.

[This plate, which in more ways than one is anachronistic and at fault, is the only Napoleonic print, of some ten thousand known to the writer, in which Piontkowski is introduced. He is the last figure, in the Lancer head-dress. No likeness is intended, the portrait being that of Marshal Poniatowsky taken for the occasion from an 'Apotheosis' in the same series of aquatints.]



to and
Abandoned

seldom he messes with the 53rd ; oftener still he is greeted by the Bertrands ; his ordinary, however, is with the Orderly Officer and the Surgeon. They are an ill-assorted trio, albeit contemporary, thirty or so. With young men of that age, three's usually better company than two, one serving as butt, foil, referee, placator, 'flapper,' or conversational scout to the twain. Not so here. Poppleton, though at bottom a good fellow, as the Exiles agree, is an insular Englishman, untouched by his Indian experiences. He dislikes and almost despises Piontkowski and the 'Foreigners at Longwood,' as he terms them. They are intruders upon his parcel of Empire, whom he must tolerate and, more, must observe and report upon. His *morgue* is self-complacent. He writes 'Myself and Dr. O'Meara'—Wolsey's egotism, save that the prelate had the brains and here they are the Surgeon's. He is an overgrown schoolboy, and his notion of evidence is simple. 'I hear his bell' with him certifies the Emperor's presence. There were twenty potential ringers in the House. 'Langford and me are friends,' is his grammar ; 'pruins' for 'prunes' his spelling, and 'president' for 'precedent,' and his style apes the Lowe official. He can be original when he likes, and his is the brilliant idea of signalling by gunfire when the weather is foggy. No one had grasped the futility of the flag or the telegraph. Ay, Poppleton is sprightly on occasion and runs to a witticism. During his twenty months at Longwood he perpetrates one pathetic little pun.¹ His favourite recreation is sea-fishing, and as you can't do

¹ Montholon had discharged a servant for too plain speaking. Poppleton apprizes Gorrequer of the fact and adds : 'His name is *Frank*—very appropriate' (L.P., 20, 118, f. 331). The italics and spelling are his. Even so does Montchenu in his five years coin one apothegm : 'Le séjour de Ste. Hélène apprend à savoir borner ses désirs. C'est la meilleure école de philosophie que je connoisse' (L.P., 20, 123, f. 137). Heartfelt if not exactly new !

much in an hour or so, he takes a day, or rather a night, off, and Lowe doesn't like it at all. The ease with which the Orderly pops down to Prosperous Bay fills the Governor with misgivings. Suppose *He* should. . . ? The Captain of the 53rd is on the best of terms with the 66th, from Colonel Dodgin downwards, and sees rather more of them than of his own brother-officers. Doubtless, as Privy Gaoler to the Household, he, with his Bonapartiana, is made much of at that gay young dog Lieutenant Birmingham's grog-parties, which are the scandal of the Island. (The Lieutenant has been granted the privilege of living 'up country,' and repays it by intoxicating his fellow-subalterns nightly, and trotting strangers out to Longwood without authority by day.)¹ Once again the Governor must shudder in his bed. What if the 'O.O.,' too, should get drunk in the town (as he *does* in the privacy of his rooms),² and forget all about pickets and passes? So there's just a suspicion of a breeze, and Lowe refuses Poppleton's application to stay on when his regiment is relieved, and every other officer in it is only too anxious to go.³ But all shall be forgotten presently when he departs for good, and his Chief, writing to Torrens,⁴ will testify to his 'prudence, firmness, and moderation,' and Napoleon himself, speaking to him for the second time in his life, will call him a 'man of honour,' and give him, clandestinely, a snuff-box as a token.⁵

¹ L.P., 20,115, f. 355. It is pleasant to know that Birmingham was eventually court-martialled for his sins. Lowe, however, 'stayed the execution of the sentence'—the last thing one would have expected of him (L.P., 20,135, f. 7). He was only too given to 'executing sentences,' and many defy analysis or even parsing!

² *Journal*, i. 250.

³ L.P., 20,116, f. 96.

⁴ L.P., 20,119, f. 139.

⁵ After debating the matter at length with his suite. That night the book down for reading was *L'Ami de la Maison* (*Journal*, ii. 189).

In the main he fills his post as well as any of his successors, bar Lutyens. Poppleton, methinks, has missed his vocation. Weakly, often in O'Meara's hands, a poor shot and a poorer rider, he is not cut out for a soldier. His *forte* is the domestic side of life, and his mastery of the great servant question is colossal. Every second letter or report of his deals with the Longwood retainers—their engagement, dismissal, wages, movements, health, visitors, sayings, doings, opinions, epistles, complaints, marriages, *collages*, and fallings-out. In a more logical world Poppleton would have 'found himself' as the Manager of a Servants' Agency. Meantime, he has the 'General out of employ' to look after, and he feels the responsibility. And what with that and the thought of his absent wife—here his eye cannot but seek Piontkowski's in sympathy—Poppleton remains at dinner the least talkative of the three.

The Pole's other commensal is O'Meara, the intellectual of the trio—able, ambitious, imaginative, critical, indiscreet, unscrupulous, vainglorious; a two-faced fraud, making the best of both worlds. Whilst Poppleton is attracted by his high spirits and good sense, but rightly distrusts him—rather on principle, *qua* Irishman, than from any intuitive perception of his real character—Piontkowski thinks him wholly engaging, and still, a twelvemonth after, in his *Letters*, refers to him as 'a very honest fellow.' He does not grasp the truth that the Surgeon, whom the Governor finds 'very useful,' is playing a double, or rather treble, game, and giving away¹ Napoleon to Lowe, Lowe to Napoleon, and both

¹ I use the word 'giving' advisedly. M. Gonnard, dealing with O'Meara's reports to Lowe of his conversations with Napoleon, writes: 'From the very fact that Sir Hudson Lowe says O'Meara's reports were generally unsolicited, he owns that he sometimes asked for them,' and he adds the footnote: 'In his

to the Cabinet and the 'Royal Personage.' Had Piontkowski been a spy and a clever, as some have surmised, he would have 'nosed' this fellow-craftsman incontinent. But the Pole, though intelligent, is not 'clever,' in any sense of that elastic term which fits the German Emperor and the Handcuff King equally well. So he takes the Irishman's wit for humour—the head for the heart—hangs upon his phrases, and in time weakly adopts *his* views as *his* own.

The table-talk is mixed. There is some middling English from Piontkowski, a little thin subaltern French from Poppleton, and some quite impeccable Italian from O'Meara. The day's 'shop' is *effleuré*—what He has done, what He has said, whose ear He has pinched, what gratuities He has given. Then come the Generals; and they are mercilessly rallied. Piontkowski as a mere Captain rather likes it. Every night he hears O'Meara call Montholon *bugiardo*¹ or *poltrone* and Las Cases

letter to the Governor of October 31, 1816, O'Meara says that he sends the conversation "you were desirous of having yesterday." M. Gonnard rather misses the procedure. The 'report' was not the first intimation. O'Meara would ride down to Plantation or the Castle, or send a few lines by a dragoon orderly, and *volunteer* the information that he had just had a conversation with the Emperor on such and such a topic, often giving some extracts from it. *Then* the Governor would ask him for a detailed report in writing, usually to transmit to Bathurst. That is what occurred in nine cases out of ten.

¹ The liar. I hold no brief for Montholon, whose unveracity was a byword and whose trimming and coquetting with Lowe and Montchenu in 1820 was even more questionable than Gourgaud's in 1818, because more calculated and self-seeking, though not fraught with such dire results to the Captive. But when M. Gonnard, elsewhere his semi-apologist, impugns Montholon's veracity, and substantiates his accusation with a citation from an *incorrect* French transcript of Lowe's great despatch to Bathurst of May 14, 1821, the spirit of the Count might well pray, for the nonce, to be saved from his friends. The subject is Napoleon's *Memoirs*, and the transcript at the *Affaires Etrangères*

gesuita or *coglione* at choice, and deems the epithets Imperial. Gourgaud is held up to ridicule as *Gorgotto*, the love-sick swain, with, haply, the trephiner's jest upon the *pia mater* whom the Baron plies with filial epistles every time a whaler puts to sea. And when the dessert and Constantia is brought in 'from the Emperor's own table,' the Irishman lets loose the full stream of his *persiflage* and plays around his pet victim, Madame de Montholon—her gowns, her hats, her sheets, her appetite, her expletives, or her accouchements, according to season. Forsyth is right. There is a precious ribald ring about the *O'merum sal*, so to speak.¹

quoted by M. Gonnard (p. 85, Eng. ed.) makes Montholon assert that the '7th, 8th, 9th, and 11th Books had been sent to O'Meara, but not for publication'; and the French writer very properly criticizes this, pointing out that the ninth Book had already been published, and that the eleventh was never written. Precisely—nor did Montholon ever deny the first or maintain the second. What the Despatch, of capital importance, says on this matter is as follows: 'He [Montholon] added, "Vous en avez même vus de publiés," referring to the ninth Book of the *Memoirs*. They had advertised, he said, the publication of the seventh, eighth, and *tenth* Books, but they had not appeared: these had been sent to O'Meara, but not for publication; he had published what he did without any authority, and they were all extremely angry with him for it. He [Ct. M.] would compel O'Meara to surrender up the remainder of the manuscripts he had in his possession. General Bonaparte, he said, had been extremely surprised and incensed at the publication of any part of them, as well as of the account of the *Battle of Waterloo* by Gen. Gourgaud, who was desired to deliver up the notes he was possessed of upon the subject previous to his departure from hence, and though he had given up one copy he had retained or rather *purloined* the other; that this circumstance had irritated Gen. Bonaparte against Gen. Gourgaud more than anything else in his conduct, and he had never forgiven it' (L.P., 20, 133, f. 203, and cf. L.P., 20, 130, f. 181).

¹ Nevertheless, Forsyth's method of bowdlerizing O'Meara's letters is absurd and defeats its own object. Instead of cutting out the whole sentence and thus arousing no sense of deprivation, he expunges just the fetid Italian word or two, and leaves a forlorn article, preposition, or pronoun in suspense over the dotted

Lastly, Piontkowski himself—bright-eyed, loose-lipped, gentle-mannered, simple-minded, receptive, romantic, susceptible, swayed up or down by the moment's impulse, and moved to smiles or tears with equal facility—a curious compound of the Slav's fanaticism, the Teuton's *Schwärmerei*, the Frenchman's vanity, the Oriental's resignation, and the Athenian's gossip-mongering—not a trace of the Roman about him. Withal an amiable and affectionate nature. The rest may dislike, even despise, him—what matter? Bertrand regards him, and Bertrand is the noblest of the whole Island contingent, custodians or captives, which rotates round Napoleon—a man of heart and character conjoined. And Piontkowski requites that feeling (witness the *Letters*) with an intense liking and admiration for the one who took knowledge of him at Elba, who signed his Hundred Days certificates, who made him *cicisbeo* to his wife and children on that rush to the sea, who interceded for him on the *Northumberland*, who ever welcomes him at Hutt's Gate, and who, anon, will be disconcerted at his deportation from St. Helena. Sympathy has its laws, and such reciprocity speaks volumes. It confounds many sceptical sneers and much supercilious criticism. The Pole, then, doesn't much mind, as he sits there, half-intruding, between England, whom he has now lost faith in, and Ireland, whom he cannot quite fathom. He deems himself blest beyond most, for his desire is accomplished: he is about the Hero he worships and serves the 'Greatest of all Time.'

Dinner is done. Poppleton goes off to complain for the twentieth time of Fowler's mutton or Barker's beef,

void like a forwandered wretch dangling over a precipice! One is impelled by sheer human curiosity to see what the poor devil is doing and restore him to his 'relatives'!

of the absence of milk or the presence of water.¹ O'Meara retires to write scandal to Finlayson or lubricities to Reade. The table is cleared; the Broadwood² resounds in the distance; the south-easterly breeze, redolent of 'shrub,' sways the print curtains;³ the stunted tapers are dying in their sockets;⁴ and Piontkowski muses alone. . . . Twelve months, eighteen at most,⁵ and all shall be over! Napoleon will return to France—*how*, no matter

¹ 'The Boy sent with the milk frequently sells it on the way and afterwards returns to his master with a tale that he fell down and broke the bottle. . . . They have been two days without any milk. . . . It is not the first nor the twentieth time they have experienced a similar inconvenience' (Poppleton to Reade, L.P., 20,117, f. 167).

'The rain comes into my rooms in many places' (Poppleton to Lowe, L.P., 20,117, f. 216). See also L.P., 20,116, f. 112; L.P., 20,116, f. 318, etc. And cf. 'The Farm is 200 paces from Longwood, yet the milk is sent for from Sandy Bay, 8 miles off. The slave who carries it sells half of it on the way and fills it up with water, when he does not sell the lot, as often happens. The milk is often spoilt, and seldom arrives in time' (Addenda to the *Letters*, Add. MSS., 30,142, f. 50). Rarely indeed are Poppleton and Piontkowski in such agreement!

For similar depredations on solids see my note on the question of provisions, p. 208.

² Bullock's Inventory, January, 1816: 'To one pianoforte by Broadwood with additional keys, £48. 6. 0. To one Billiard-table complete, £70. 0. 0.' (C.O., 247. 7). Another piano was sent out from England at a cost to Napoleon of £122 (L.P., 20,115, f. 64). This he bequeathed to Madame Bertrand; and after much solicitation on her part she was allowed by the Governor to take it with her on the store-ship. Seeing the amount of baggage the returning Exiles already had with them, one understands Lowe's fear that the instrument in question might prove the last straw to break the *Camel's* back!

³ *Ibid.*: 'To window-curtains of buff print lined blue, £18 10. 0.' Napoleon's own rooms were more expensively curtained: 'To one window-curtain of dove-coloured striped silk Taboret with border of black cotton velvet edged with silk cord and lace; draperies of black cotton velvet ornamented with orange-coloured silk lace and fringe; carved cornice and curtain-pins, £49. 3. 9.'

⁴ For an edifying discussion between Montholon and Gorrequer about, literally, candle-ends, see L.P., 20,121, f. 266.

⁵ Forsyth, ii. 466.

—of that he is confident. The Island fastness will be but as a nightmare that is done, Lowe but a bogey to frighten his children! Once again for the parade and circumstance of War: the tense blue lines; the silver gleam of the spear-heads; the red and white pennons a-flutter; the kaleidoscopic Staff; the little hat and gray riding-coat; the magnetic Presence; the crisp, electric phrases, '*Vive l'Empereur!*' '*Merci, mes enfants!*' . . . Waterloo is avenged! St. Helena wiped out! (as we would fain expunge it to-day). And he squares his shoulders and stiffens his neck, and his eyes flash in the darkness. . . . Then a glorious Peace, promotion and favours, the pomp and ceremony of Court. His bosom swells and Malvolio's smile plays upon his lips: 'To be *Count*' — Piontkowski! (His biographer says he *was* already—perhaps, perhaps not?) So the Rock is as Elba to him—a second stone to step up from, another lull before storming anew the Throne. And, thus 'day-dreaming,' he drops into a momentary slumber which quenches that day. . . . Poor little Polish Lancer! He cannot perceive that the Sun of his Firmament is fast sinking—the set is at hand, gunfire feeling already for its funeral note.¹ No more shall He glint from the domes of Madrid to Moscow's cupolas, and but palely light up the Galleries of Versailles. . . .²

¹ 'Bonaparte expired yesterday evening at ten minutes before six. Just at the very instant the sun sank below the horizon he breathed his last sigh!' (Gorrequer to Bingham, May 6, 1821, *Blackwood's*, October, 1896).

Not quite accurate, even allowing a trifle for the elevation of the Deadwood plateau. The Emperor expired at 5.49 by Arnott's watch. That day the sun set at 5.40 (local mean time). Marchand, in his *Souvenirs*, is ten minutes out in his '*canon de retraits*.' In all likelihood the last sound to strike the dying sense of the once artilleryman of Toulon was the reverberation of the signal-gun.

² '*Gli ultimi giorni*.'

And so to bed, with his boot-jack handy for the rats.¹

Such is Piontkowski's day at St. Helena, as near as I figure it.

There were two outstanding incidents in the Polish Follower's sojourn on the Island. One was the episode of the Declaration, the other the Nagle affair. They were much on a par, for the latter would have brought about his removal had the former not done so already.

One of the first things Lowe did on his arrival, you remember, was, according to Bathurst's instructions, to exact a 'Declaration' from each of the Followers—and presently from the servants *en bloc*—by which they bound themselves to submit personally to all the restrictions that were already, or might subsequently be, imposed upon the Captive. Forsyth deals pretty fully with the matter, and prints the Declarations of Bertrand (who was rather refractory, and sent in a 'provisional,' or conditional, one first), of Montholon, of Las Cases, and of Gourgaud. Piontkowski's he omits, presumably on the principle that he cuts out everything connected with the Pole, the only exception, I think, being *the* most uncom-

¹ The pest of St. Helena; or rather, to be verminologically exact, one of the three pests—the second being mosquitoes and the third cockroaches. More than one writer has stigmatized Bathurst for his tasteless jest on the subject in his letter to Lowe (Forsyth, ii. 413). That he could treat the matter seriously is shown by Goulburn's official request to Lowe of August 28, 1817, to 'transmit to Lord Bathurst an accurate statement of the extent of the evil, the causes from which it has arisen, and the remedies you propose to adopt. . . . There would be no difficulty in sending a Ratcatcher from this country if the Island should not possess one' (L.P., 20, 119, f. 302). Which offer seems not to have been followed up, for I have failed to trace that particular artist. Possibly Bathurst reconsidered it at the instance of the Caricaturists of all nations, that Mr. Broadley might fitly illustrate his St. Helena chapter? Anyhow the Pied Piper of Longwood is still in the melting-pot of the poet.

plimentary passage about him (containing an untruth besides) that he can possibly find in all Lowe's despatches.

As his biographer tells us, Piontkowski wrote and sent to Plantation House two Declarations. The first was as follows (I give it in the original) :

' J'ai suivi l'Empereur Napoléon sur le *Bellérophon*. Desolé de n'être pas admis à la faveur de le suivre, je suis rentré, après son départ, dans le port de Plymouth. J'ai obtenu le 14 août la permission de venir à Ste. Hélène où je suis depuis le 30 décembre dernier. Je n'ai rien trouvé de ce que l'on disoit à Plymouth de la beauté de l'Isle, de la salubrité de son climat, et des égards dont on disoit être entourés l'Empereur et les personnes de Sa suite. L'Isle est affreuse ; c'est proprement l'Isle de la Désolation. Son climat ne ressemble à aucun climat de la terre. On y est perpétuellement dans les nuages au milieu de brouillards ou exposé à un soleil ardent—bienfait dont on est privé les trois quarts du temps. L'humidité ordinaire de l'Isle mettra un terme prompt à la vie de l'Empereur et des personnes de Sa suite. Mais, malgré cette triste perspective, je suis constant dans mon ardent désir de rester auprès de l'Empereur. Aucun danger, aucune misère ne pourra me faire regretter cette résolution libre et mûrement réfléchie. Quelqu'affreux que pourroit être mon sort, je le supporterai avec courage ; la persuasion d'avoir fait mon devoir me donnera les forces nécessaires pour le surmonter. Tels sont mes sentiments, auxquels je suis bien résolu de demeurer inviolablement attaché, et je me sou mets aux restrictions que l'on nous impose, quoiqu'elles soient vexatoires, arbitraires et motivées par aucune nécessité, puisqu'il suffit de garder le rivage pour ôter tout moyen de s'échapper de ce Rocher escarpé.

' (Signé) PIONTKOWSKI, Capitaine.

' ISLE DE STE. HÉLÈNE. LONGWOOD, *Cs* 18 Avril, 1816.'¹

¹ L.P., 20, 115, f. 65.

This declaration (which in one or two passages betrays the hand of another person than its author) Piontkowski gives in to Bertrand, who sends it to Lowe early on the 20th. He must have thought it a trifle high-falutin' towards the end, for on the morrow he indites the following emendation :

' J'ai suivi l'Empereur Napoléon sur le *Bellérophon*. Après son départ de Plymouth j'ai continué à y rester, n'ayant pas été admis à la faveur de la suivre. J'ai depuis obtenu la permission de venir à Ste. Hélène où je suis depuis le 30 décembre dernier. Je n'ai rien trouvé de ce qu'on m'avoit dit à Plymouth de la beauté de l'Isle, de la salubrité de son climat et des égards dont on disoit être entourés l'Empereur Napoléon et les personnes de Sa suite. L'Isle est affreuse ; c'est proprement l'Isle de la Désolation. Son climat ne ressemble à aucun climat de la terre ; on y est perpétuellement dans les nuages au milieu de brouillards, ou exposé à un soleil ardent—bienfait dont on est même privé les trois quarts du temps. L'humidité ordinaire de l'Isle mettra un terme prompt à la vie de l'Empereur et des personnes de Sa suite. Cependant je suis constant dans mon ardent désir de rester auprès de l'Empereur, et je me sou mets aux restrictions que l'on nous a imposées, quoiqu'elles soient vexatoires, arbitraires et motivées par aucune nécessité, puisqu'il suffit de garder le rivage pour ôter tout moyen de s'échapper de ce Rocher ardent.

(Signé) PIONTKOWSKI, Capitaine.

' *Ce 19 avril, 1816.*'¹

This version he sends to Reade on the 20th, with the following note :

' I have the honour to ask you to replace my first Declaration by this one herein enclosed, seeing that one

¹ L.P., 20, 115, f. 67. Original at L.P., 15, 729, f. 21.

might suppose from certain terms I have used that I came to St. Helena in the hope of finding a beautiful country and enjoying a distinguished consideration. I had intended to present my respects this day to His Excellency the Governor, and to ask you by word of mouth what I now do by letter ; but the impossibility of finding an English officer to accompany me prevents it. Not having had time to inform the Grand-Marshal of the step I am taking, I venture to ask you to burn my first Declaration, whilst making no mention of the substitution, lest one might think that I had effected some very material alterations.

‘ (Signed) PIONTKOWSKI.’¹

In very truth the alterations were too trifling to bother about. The writer’s concern lest ‘one’ should put an unfavourable construction upon his action is only equalled by the naïveté of his estimate of Reade ! The D.A.G. was the very last person on the Island who could be taken into anyone’s confidence, and who could keep anything from the Governor. As to the ‘time,’ be it remembered that Lowe had fixed a limit—the 20th—and that Bertrand was not residing at Longwood. As for the faithfulness of the Pole’s picture of St. Helena, we get a corroboration thereof in really the most unexpected quarter—Lowe himself, to wit. On the 23rd he writes to Bunbury : ‘Captain Piontkowski’s description of the place is not altogether an inaccurate one. You will see it in his Declaration.’²—which is spatchcocked between a turtle for Bathurst and respects to Lady Holland. From which we gather that Piontkowski’s description is quite accurate. For, be it said *par parenthèse*, Lowe is possessed of that love of *litotes* and periphrasis in writing and that dubita-

¹ L.P., 20, 115, f. 66.

² L.P., 20, 140, f. 4v.

tion and non-committal in speech which mark your average Englishman who 'believes he has caught a cold' and 'thinks he will take a pill'! His circumlocution and subordinate phrasing must have sorely tried those concise and precise foreigners about him. When Bertrand asks him on October 5 if Piontkowski is to go, he replies that 'he believes the Captain is particularly pointed out.' The Pole's fate had been sealed irrevocably three months before by Bathurst. When Stürmer requests his official permission to repatriate his cook, suffering from *Heimweh*, Lowe does not give a simple polite assent. He 'begs leave to state he is not aware of any objection to the embarkation.'¹ Nor does he 'write,' but he 'has thought it not inexpedient to address you,' and so forth. Napoleon sneeringly called his Gaoler the 'scribe of a Staff.' Seeing the spinning, distaff had been apter!

Not once, but twice, in his *Letters*, Piontkowski asseverates that the Declaration above led to his removal from St. Helena, and his Biographer states the same. As the truth of this assertion has been questioned by at least one writer, let us look a little closely into the matter.

On April 23 the *Havannah* frigate (Captain Hamilton) sailed for England.² She had on board Colonel Wilkes and family and despatches and letters as follows: (1) Lowe to Bathurst, dated April 21, enclosing (a) Report of conversation with Napoleon, (b) and (c) two fortnightly accounts of Balcombe and Co.; (2) Lowe to Bathurst, April 22, enclosing (a) the 'form of Declaration,' (b) the Declarations ('packet No. 2') of Las Cases, Gourgaud, Montholon, and Piontkowski; (c) Bertrand's *provisional* Declaration [his final, or 'humble-pie,' Declaration of the 24th went by the *Salcette* on May 14]; (d) copy of Lowe's reply to Bertrand; (3) Lowe to Bathurst April 23,

¹ L.P., 20, 118, f. 378.

² See Log, Appendix C.

enclosing copy of correspondence with Bertrand *re* Declaration; (4) Lowe to Torrens, April 23; (5) Lowe to Bunbury, April 22; (6) Lowe to Bunbury, April 23, enclosing two letters from Lady Lowe; (7) O'Meara's three letters; (8) The 'anonymous letter' which subsequently got O'Meara into trouble; (9) Gourgaud's letter to his mother, and (10) Bertrand's two letters to his relatives.¹ The *Havannah* reached Spithead on June 15, and the next day the Secretary was in receipt of his packet. Let us reconstruct the scene. Bathurst peruses Lowe's despatches and gathers that the Declarations are 'pretty strong,' and that in the Governor's opinion the 'whole of the Followers had better be removed, with the exception perhaps of Las Cases.'² He reads the Declarations of Montholon, Gourgaud, and Las Cases. Yes, they answer the description; from his point of view, their authors are arrogant, unsubmissive, presumptuous, politically scheming, and altogether reprehensible. Still, though nominally 'on sufferance,' they are 'Followers of the first hour,' men of splendid antecedents and past merit, whose present eclipse is second only to their Master's. There's much to be said for them. Then he turns to Piontkowski's Declaration, and he mutters, and he frowns, for it is quite *une autre paire de manches!* What! here is a youngster, a mere *quondam* trooper of Napoleon's, who has knelt to Lord Keith and begged to be sent to St. Helena; who has craved that boon day and night from the English Government, and thrown himself upon his generosity and his fellow Ministers'; and no sooner is that signal favour granted to him—and him alone—than he proceeds to inveigh against the haven he has

¹ L.P., 20,116, f. 63v; L.P., 20,135, ff. 1-4v; L.P., 20,140, ff. 3 and 4; L.P., 20,115, ff. 75 and 78.

² L.P., 20,115, f. 86.

sought, the treatment meted out to the Captive and the restrictions which *he* in his departmental wisdom has imposed upon the latter. This, says Bathurst, is 'the limit!' It is not only arrogance; it is not only political meddling; it is gross ingratitude to boot; and he then and there decides that whoever may or may not be deported from St. Helena, Piontkowski shall be the first to go. Ten days but serve to confirm his decision and supply him with two additional incentives, and on June 26 he pens his despatch to Lowe (received by the *Eurydice* on September 29, and imparted to Napoleon by Reade on October 4), in which he says: 'You will therefore remove from General Bonaparte at least four of the persons who went out with him. You will understand that I include Captain Piontkowski amongst the number, although, strictly speaking, he followed him some time after the *Northumberland* sailed.'¹ Lest it be thought the foregoing is surmise pure and simple, I submit the following passage from Lowe's despatch to Bathurst of October 10—which Forsyth cuts out.² Lowe is repeating his conversation with Bertrand on the 5th in which he apprized him officially of Piontkowski's imminent removal. He proceeds: 'When in England he [Piontkowski] had solicited as an act of particular favour to be permitted to come to this Island, and he was no sooner here than he began to *develop a political character*, and to deliver in his Declaration full of abuse of the Government which had assented to his request. . . . Gen. Bertrand seemed disconcerted on hearing Capt. P. was likely to be removed, but remarked with reference to his own Declaration that there had been nothing violent in it.'³

¹ L.P., 20, 115, f. 236.

² i. 321.

³ L.P., 20, 116, f. 132.

So you see, Piontkowski's removal was primarily the penalty paid for his outspokenness, the questions of expense and of security having but a secondary importance.

But, as I have said, had this Declaration been never so submissive, the Pole would still, in all likelihood, have been deported from St. Helena, very much at the period that he was, for his part in the Nagle affair.

Lieutenant Nagle of the 53rd was a close friend of Poppleton's, and usually accompanied the Captain when he went on one of his frequent fishing expeditions, leaving FitzGerald in charge. Nagle had a pretty wife, who visited regularly at Longwood, her first call being dated December 18, 1815.¹ Of the two remaining Captains in the Camp,² Younghusband and Mansel to wit, the first-named sought distraction in the society of the Exiles, and he, too, would on occasion be accompanied by his spouse, who, by common report, was what is familiarly known as a 'holy terror.' As nature had denied Mrs. Younghusband those charms of person and manner she had showered so bountifully upon Mrs. Nagle, the former proceeded characteristically to slander her more fortunate rival. There was really little else to do at Deadwood, which, between its half-yearly Race Meetings, lived up, or rather died down, to its name. What exactly the Captain's lady said of Lieutenant's little matters, but as it aspersed her conjugal virtue rather badly the Nagles had no choice but to bring the case before the local Court. The action came on at the beginning of October, 1816, with the result that the Younghusbands were mulcted in damages to the tune of £250. Gourgaud refers to the

¹ *Récits*, i. 199.

² 'Jan. 1, 1817—2nd Batt. 53rd: 1 Major, 3 Captains, 9 Lieutenants, 8 Ensigns, 610 N.C.O.'s and R. and F.' (L.P., 20, 154, f. 166).

verdict and sneers at Nagle (whom he miscalls Neal) for settling the matter thus publicly and pecuniarily rather than, *more gallico*, in some quiet clearing in Long Wood. Stürmer, too, writing on January 10, 1817, mentions the case as 'the most recent incident here'—whence one gathers that episodes in his ken were like archangels' visits. Now, whether the nerves of the Nagles were upset by the uncertainty of the pending suit and required recuperation overseas, or whether the young couple divined the coming award and decided that Bond Street only could do justice thereto, the fact remains that towards the end of August, the date of the great 'Protest,' the Lieutenant determined to take his wife and family to England, and began to make preparations for the passage. This was deemed at Longwood an excellent opportunity for the transmission of Montholon's letter to England, and Piontkowski accordingly was deputed to sound Nagle on the subject. The following document officially narrates his performance :

' Memorandum [in the hand of Gorrequer] of a Conversation which took place between Captain Piontkowski and Lt. Nagle of the 2nd Batt. of the 53rd Regt. at the beginning of the month of September, 1816, as related by the latter to Sir H. Lowe on October 6th at Plantation House :—About a month ago Capt. Piontkowski called on Thomas Nagle at Deadwood, and asked him when he proposed going to England. He answered, " So soon as he conveniently could." Capt. P. then inquired if he intended visiting France, and on being answered in the negative, he resumed, saying, if [he] had it in contemplation, he could procure him letters of introduction from Marshal Bertrand (*sic*), who had great interest in France, and he knew Mr. Nagle would be well received, the more particularly on its being known from whence he came—

but this was declined. Capt. P. also desired to know whether Mr. Nagle went home on a man-of-war or in a transport, and on being told in a transport, remarked that laying in a sea-stock for a family for so long a voyage was a very expensive thing, and expressed his regret that it was out of their power at Longwood to provide him with anything from the house in consequence of their being placed on short allowance, otherwise they would have had much pleasure in doing so. Capt. P. asked Mr. N. whether he had seen the Letter lately written to the Governor from Longwood House, and on receiving for answer "he had not seen it," added he would show him a copy which would enable him the better to explain to the people in England how badly they were treated at St. Helena, for he knew very well the Governor would not transmit that Letter to England. This Mr. Nagle also declined, excusing himself by saying he did not understand French.

'Capt. P. begged Mr. N. would ascertain if his wife still lived at Sir Francis Burdett's, though he feared she had left that house, but should he be able to find her out anywhere in London, would he explain to her how they were situated here, and tell her how glad he was she had not come out to St. Helena to be starved.

'When Capt. P. had ascertained from Lt. N. where he intended lodging at Jamestown (after leaving Deadwood) until he embarked, he said he would call upon him there, as he particularly wished to see him again before he sailed; he, however, never called upon him since. Lt. Nagle called upon Madame Bertrand about a week ago, when he was informed by her that Ct. Bertrand was very much displeased with Capt. Piontkowski for having made use of his name to Mr. N. (as above related), which he had never authorized him to do. Lt. N. also

stated that during his wife's confinement Ct. Las Cases was in the habit of frequently sending to make inquiries after her health, though he himself did not visit there.¹

Let any who supposes Piontkowski to have been a crafty spy or a scheming adventurer consider the above piece of diplomacy. It is far from the Talleyrand touch! Nagle, to be sure, was no schoolman for subtlety. But a few years before, he was an English schoolboy, in all likelihood mis-scanning his '*Timeo Danaos*,' and had barely had time to forget the application of the line. So that, when, with the tactics of Arcadia, Piontkowski first wounded his *amour-propre* by suggesting he was unequal to the task of embarking his own family, and followed it up by tendering those very shadowy *entrées* and those gifts 'that might have been' from Longwood of all places, the Lieutenant must have quietly smiled and wondered as to the Captain's mother! Poor Piontkowski was let in on both sides, for he was certainly put up to these puerilities either by Las Cases (who had been trying something of the sort himself), or, more likely, by Montholon and his wife, who never lost an opportunity of working off their spleen against the Bertrands, and guessed that dragging his name in would be highly displeasing to the Grand-Marshal—as it proved.

Lowe hit the nail on the head when he wrote later to Lord Charles Somerset at the Cape that, though Piontkowski had been disavowed in the Nagle affair by the Generals 'he was not convinced that they may not have employed him on the occasion.'² As with a Revolution, success was its only *raison d'être*, and when it ended in failure, it is not surprising to find that the whole thing was disowned at Longwood and that the Captain was

¹ L.P., 20, 116, f. 2.

² C.O., 247. 6.

severely called to account, if Gourgaud's 'revelations' can be trusted¹—personally I refuse to credit the assertion that the Emperor wished Piontkowski arrested *pour ôter le soupçon*. He was too just for that.

Though this abortive attempt was not known at Plantation House for some time, Nagle imparted it at once to his friend Poppleton, who, with a shrewdness one would not have supposed in him, advised the Lieutenant to 'lie low' and await the Captain's next visit in order to entrap him still deeper.² But the Pole never came, and Nagle had to content himself with what he had already 'pumped' from him—the word is his—recalling, however, an additional request to 'let the People in England know how badly they were treated.'³

Coming as it did on top of Captain Gray's and Lieutenant Louis's heinous offence in allowing the Protest to be read to them at Longwood, and talking it over afterwards at the 53rd Mess,⁴ Nagle's deposition must have made the Governor exceedingly wroth; and one wonders whether his anger with Piontkowski was not outweighed by his suspicion⁵ of Nagle and Poppleton, lest after

¹ Lowe to Bathurst, March 15, 1818 (C.O., 247. 13).

² L.P., 20,208, f. 27.

³ L.P., 20,116, f. 14.

⁴ L.P., 20,115, f. 454.

⁵ That Lowe's suspicion amounted to monomania even his apologists will allow, and Forsyth gives one or two ludicrous examples, which have tickled Lord Rosebery. As the Governor congenitally suspected everything, from mail-bags to metaphors and battleships to beans, it were easy to adduce four of five score instances from the Papers, some rather pathetic. Let three suffice:—Marchand has sketched a view of Longwood House and garden, and introduced the figures of Napoleon, Bertrand, Montholon, O'Meara, and himself. The picture hangs in Bertrand's parlour. When Lutyens pays a duty call on Madame Bertrand on his appointment as Orderly Officer, his hostess shows him round, and pointing out the sketch to him, says, 'The figure in the foreground is O'Meara,' for the obvious reason that as Lutyens' regiment reached St. Helena eight months

keeping such news from him for a whole month, they still might not have withheld some very material items.

Lowe took forty-eight hours to think out a fit punishment for Piontkowski. Had his fate not been sealed

after the surgeon's departure, the Captain would not otherwise have known whom the said figure was meant for. Lowe worms out of Lutyens the minutest particulars of the visit, and at O'Meara's name pricks up his ears, straightway suspects Madame Bertrand of all manner of fell machinations, and writes this absurdity to Bathurst: 'This picture is meant to serve as a kind of *touchstone* to judge of the disposition of occasional visitors' (L.P., 20, 129, f. 163). This is rather more pitiful. Shortly before O'Meara's departure a trading vessel brings a fine telescope for sale 'on spec.' The Emperor deposes the surgeon to purchase it, and the latter goes down to the sea-front for the purpose. Lowe and Reade hear of this and promptly snap up the glass, in order that it should not go to Longwood. When Sir Hudson refers to the matter with Balmain, the Commissioner very naturally says: 'But, surely, you wouldn't prevent Bonaparte from having a telescope?' Lowe casts about for some justification of his meanness to this effect: 'Was he [Napoleon] to have the best telescope in the Island? Surely it was for the Governor to be enabled to discover the approach of ships before any other person, not for Napoleon' (L.P., 20, 123, f. 266). So the Captive must forego the distraction of sweeping the verge lest he descry, before Pritchard's Telegraph brigade or even the 'Windward Cruiser'—an impossibility—some friendly sail, and for one secret hour nurse, I suppose, an 'Inclination to escape'! This savours of Bedlam. In one of his several quarrels with the Governor, Balmain frankly writes him: 'Je suis aussi indépendant sur ce Rocher que vous-même!' (L.P., 20, 127, f. 84). Lowe's suspicions are aroused, and by what, do you think? The independence? The tone? No; the phrase 'sur ce Rocher'—which the Exiles and the Commissioners, I need hardly say, used twenty times a day. And why? Because in his great Letter of *three years before* Montholon had ended his paragraph respecting the Commissioners with those very words, 'sur ce Rocher.' Balmain, argues Lowe, must have reproduced the phrase from that Letter; *ergo* he sympathizes with its tone, and hence with its writer: and the Russian for that trope is branded with Napoleonism! 'Would that mine enemy had written' . . . three words! Lowe actually descants to Bathurst upon the subject, and also to Balmain, who, of course, is quite mystified, and rejoins: 'If your remarks contain a hidden meaning will you be good enough to reveal it to me and to unveil the back of your mind. It is

by Bathurst's despatch eight days before, doubtless the Governor would himself have decreed deportation. As it was, his opportunity came on the 8th, and therewith that comical note which is never long absent from the drama of St. Helena. It usually springs from an invitation—Napoleon 'to meet the Countess'; Montchenu and the Lowe Christening;¹ the Bertrands' bibulous chef

only *then* that I can answer you' (L.P., 20, 127, f. 133). In the same way Lowe suspects the phrase 'French colony,' used in a letter by Cardinal Consalvi when speaking of the little band of Exiles at Longwood. So he withholds the missive, lest it 'might, had I communicated it, have given ground to some fresh pretensions or undue expectation at Longwood' (L.P., 20, 129, f. 319). There was much of comedy at St. Helena, grafted upon that awful Tragedy of the Rock; but, crowning the lot, was this colossal irony, that the sanest Intellect of his age had a maniac to guard him!

¹ One of the most comical incidents of all. In October, 1816, Lady Lowe gave birth to a son—her eldest, not the future Captain Lowe of Cawnpore fame. Montchenu, ever keen on cheap entertainment, invited himself betimes to the christening festivity and (to pay his scot?) volunteered to ask the King of France to stand sponsor to the child. Lowe, who thought that absurd, declined with thanks, and added in jest ('*en badinant*') that he 'might as well ask Bonaparte.' The Marquis repeated this last gravely to his Colleagues, who hailed it as a heaven-sent item for their next despatches. When Stürmer met Lowe, he rallied him upon this avowed 'intention' of his. The Governor was first surprised and then aghast at the turn the thing had taken and the possibility of its reaching the various Courts and there placing him in a false light, and vehemently declared to the Baron that he would have to be a '*coquin*' and a '*schékrat*' to make any such proposal seriously. What with the joke on one side and the joke on the other, the matter, *similia similibus*, developed along quite melodramatic lines. The whole Plantation paraphernalia was requisitioned by the Governor, and Gorrequer and his juniors had the time of their secretarial lives! There were interviews, letters, circular notes, confrontations, affidavits, interrogatories and the rest of the inquisitorial instruments. Eventually Montchenu apologized for his part in the affair, and swore a great oath 'upon his sword' (which he had never unsheathed hostilely in his life!), whilst Lowe relieved his outraged feelings in an incensed recapitulatory despatch to Bathurst, begging his Lordship to observe that 'this was the way in which

and no dinner. Here Poppleton writes to Lowe on the 8th. :

' Captain Piontkowski apply'd to me just now to know if he could accept of an invitation to a Party that is to meet to-morrow in a small Wood a short distance from Longwood. I told him if it was within the Bounds I knew of no objection. The Party is made in consequence of a relation of Mrs. Kay's (of the Alarm House)¹ being married, and I understand from him they are to dine there.'²

Poppleton's pearl,³ forsooth, which, grammar and all,

he was beset on all sides, but that he would know how to defend himself against those that attacked him' (L.P., 20,116 *end*; 20,117 *passim*).

On Montchenu as a *pique-assiette* this is rather telling: 'It is to the persons from Longwood alone, on their visits to the Town, that his House and Table have been principally open. The British Officers and Society here have little obligation for any return of *their* real and continued attentions towards him' (Lowe to Bathurst, November 6, 1820; L.P., 20,131, f. 176). So much so that the Governor took a malicious pleasure in putting a spoke in Montchenu's wheel and forbade, at the eleventh hour and on a very trumpery ground, a luncheon offered to the Montholons. With obvious *Schadenfreude* does he write to Bathurst: 'Although the Collation was prepared at the Marquis' *the Party did not meet*' (L.P., 20,126, f. 330v).

¹ Strictly 'of the Alarm House locality.' Dr. Kay, medical superintendent of the E.I.C.'s Establishment, lived next to Torbett, in the valley below Hutt's Gate, on the way from Briars to Longwood or Fisher's Valley. He was the most erudite man at St. Helena, and what philosophical problems the Rev. Mr. Boys could not cope with were usually submitted to him. Barnes calls him 'one of the most classical scholars of the age'; which Cockburn rather narrows down to Bertrand: 'the most classical person in the Island, who knows Greek and Latin perfectly' (C.O., 247. 10).

² L.P., 20,208, f. 39.

³ It must have been the nature of their functions which led the Orderly Officers to write like policemen—one almost expects the exordial 'Acting upon information received.' They all do it to a greater or less degree. Happily a certain naïveté relieves most of these constabulary concoctions. Poppleton's I. have

might, with the necessary changes, have convened the guests to the famous Swarry at Bath! And what an idyllic *noce champêtre* in store for the morrow, yonder amidst the odoriferous gumwoods and the poetical willows

given an insight into already; Blakeney's is on a par; Lutyens' a trifle less; whilst the most refreshing is easily George Nicholls'. That incomparable 'O.O.' has a *joie de vivre* of his own. Lowe asks him to a Plantation 'hop,' and he replies he 'will be most delighted to go, never having seen a St. Helena Ball.' Nor St. Paul's either, I suspect. On the next such occasion he is slipshod, even in his spelling: he can't go 'because of a bad foot which obliges me to go slip-shewed' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 458). Given some of his duties, rubber heels and a 'rubber neck' had been preferable, and a competent underling! Cf. 'The orderly serjeant is a very stupid fellow and of no use to me whatever. I shall have another person on the look-out during these moonlight nights' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 267). Yes, George, there was a *great* deal for your venal 'Tommy' to descry around Longwood in those voluptuous nights upon the 16th parallel: but whether Don Juan sacrificing to the Paphian or Autolycus to his own progenitor was the more profitable 'cop,' is not for me or even the Lowe Papers to decide.

Like Poppleton, Nicholls is great on the evidence of the bell. He terms it 'collateral information' (L.P., 20, 127, f. 263), and that gives his little notes quite a dialectical flavour. His liturgical touches are less happy: 'I enclose a paper containing the names of two persons who wish to be united in the holy *band* of matrimony' (L.P., 20, 126, f. 36). Nicholls' Journal (L.P., 20, 210) is worth giving as a whole, and I commend it to Mr. Shorter for his next St. Helena medley. He is the most unsophisticated and human of the Orderlies. He has his Nature-study: 'This was certainly one of the finest evenings I ever saw' (f. 4); his eye for a gown: 'Mdme. de Montholon paid a visit to Napoleon, splendidly dressed in full Court Costume' (f. 4); his scenic regrets: 'The masons to-day began on the New House [October 2, 1818—ready for occupation February 10, 1821]. There was *no* ceremony used in laying the first stone' (f. 3); his peeps *à la* Wiertz: 'Saw Napoleon through a telescope. His countenance appeared excessively cadaverous and ghastly' (f. 4); his commercial touches: 'I think he [Napoleon] has commenced business again' (f. 12)—*i.e.*, dictating his Memoirs; his spirit of caste: 'I told him that nothing less than a *Gentleman* was sufficient' (f. 7)—*vis.*, for evidence of Napoleon's presence; his worship of Aletheia: 'So much for the veracity of these people' [the Montholons] (f. 23); his respect for the Sabbath: 'I told Ct.

and wild olives, where the 'foreign gentleman' in the mirificent cocked-hat¹ would have frisked and frolicked with the bride (of the *Alarm* House, thank God!) and been, if not the soul, at least the Pole of the Party! Alas! Kay proposes, but L—— disposes; and the blow was not long in falling. Reade replies the same day: 'I am directed by the Governor to acquaint you that in consequence of Captain Piontkowski's conduct on several occasions, and particularly his late communication to Lt. Nagle, you are not to acquiesce in any proposal on his part for quitting the boundaries of Longwood, or communicating with any person whatever, except with General Bonaparte's own family.'² Poor Piontkowski! Here he is already putting his traps together, having heard on the 4th (or at latest the 5th) of his imminent removal, and he must needs carry away the gall of this final humiliation! Do you wonder that he nursed in his breast a lifelong resentment against Lowe which sullies his pages and tinges even his Biographer's? They say the best way to a man's heart is through his stomach. The surest way *out*, apparently, is to dish him of a dinner! Let us hope that at Bertrand's board that night—probably for the last time—he found meet solace for his soul and meat compensation elsewhere.

Bertrand's servant that the work [gardening] was not allowed to go on on Sundays' (f. 32); his paragraphic pathos: 'A melancholy catastrophe happened to Lt. Davy and Ensign McDougall of the 66th, who went out fishing, and a surge washed them off the rocks, to be seen no more living' (f. 7); his sartorial correctitude: 'The General's appearance was rather grotesque: nankeen jacket, waistcoat and *trowsers* and a straw hat' (f. 38); and lastly his sense of the vanity of human endeavour and the impermanence of terrene affairs: 'His sole amusement seems to be building sod walls . . . and pulling down to-day that which he had reared the day before' (f. 39). That, ye gods, of Napoleon the Great!

¹ See Hodson's letter printed by Mr. Shorter.

² L.P., 20, 116, f. 114.

Things now developed speedily with Piontkowski. On the 10th Lowe spoke to Bertrand about him in the terms I have already quoted.¹ On the 12th he himself writes to Lowe this protest : ' Captain Poppleton has communicated to me an order from you by which I must neither leave Longwood nor speak with any other persons than those in the Emperor's service. Astonished at such a step, which is taken only against me, may I be allowed to ask you to let me know the reason for it.'² Needless to say, Lowe did not condescend to give a reply, the tenor of which Piontkowski already knew, and which he could only have wanted for documentary purposes ; but what the Governor did do was to summon him to Plantation House on the morrow, the 13th, the date of his last luncheon with the Emperor. From a hint dropped by Gourgaud I thought at first that in this case Piontkowski must have undergone one of those formal ' interrogatories ' to which the Governor was so prone, and I sought high and low for a report of it. It was not in the Papers nor in the Records. Now Lowe was too careful to lose any document : there *was* no report. But Lowe was too fond of red-tape to dispense with Gorrequer or Wynyard on such official occasions ; there *was* no interrogatory. And sure enough, on February 16, 1818, when Gourgaud's papers were searched at his departure by Gorrequer, the A.D.C. found a copy of a note from Piontkowski to Bertrand relating what took place ' when he *was spoken to* by Lowe at Plantation House,' and Gorrequer adds ' of no consequence.'³ We may safely assume that when the Captain presented himself in answer to the summons, the Governor vouchsafed him a couple of phrases to the effect that he had incurred his displeasure over the Nagle affair and that as he was leaving incontinent no more

¹ See p. 87.² L.P., 20,204, f. 20.³ C.O., 247. 13.

need be said—and so, ‘good-bye!’ On the 14th, 15th, and 16th the question of the Declarations (which, by Bathurst’s orders, had been presented once more in their original form for signature) agitated the little Court. The Pole, as he was leaving, was not called upon to sign, and of the others only Santini, acting doubtless upon higher instructions, refused to do so. This virtually marked him out as one of the trio to be deported in addition to Piontkowski; and on the 18th Lowe informed Bertrand that ‘the selection of the four having been left to his judgment’—he errs: only the balance of three was left to his choice—he had fixed upon Captain Piontkowski, and Santini, Rousseau and one of the Archambaults, or the two Archambaults with Rousseau.¹ They were all to embark before two the next day, and Poppleton was to render any assistance required for the removal. Previous to his departure Piontkowski was given Instructions by Napoleon, which Gourgaud tells us² he wrote out on the 16th—what these were one gathers from the *Letters*. He received the *livret*, or certificate, given in Appendix A, besides a substantial gratuity; was made *Chef d’Escadron*, or Cavalry Major, and empowered to claim two years’ pay in advance from the Family of Napoleon. On the 19th he embarked on the *David* transport for the Cape. He was accompanied as far as the Alarm House by all the Generals, who embraced him and took leave of him with marks of regret—in Gourgaud’s and Montholon’s cases presumably feigned. Though the departing Follower dearly wished to say farewell to his Master, the Emperor pleaded indisposition and refrained from seeing him on the ground that it would have caused him ‘*trop de peine*,’ whatever that may precisely imply. Possibly he foresaw another *Northumberland* scene, or

¹ L.P., 20, 116, f. 220.

² *Journal*, i. 251.

feared an access of jealousy on the Generals' part. The deprivation might well have rankled in Piontkowski's breast ; that it did not, gives us, I think, the measure of his hero-worship. It was one of the little ironies of his life that he left Longwood a few hours before the Bertrands, who affected him and whose society he most valued, moved in from Hutt's Gate. The Grand-Marshal, in Gourgaud's words, seemed *tout drôle* that day ; and Madame Bertrand gave the young friend they were losing a gold chain—a no mean present for the Exiles. Gourgaud, not to be outdone in our estimation, apparently, tells us that he gave him '*ma boîte à thé.*'¹ He forgets to add the important words 'to transmit to my Mother'—a commission the Pole executed as soon as he landed in England. Most of the diarists mention Piontkowski's departure. Montchenu deposes that Napoleon 'was glad to get rid of Biantowski (*sic*), who was his *âme damnée.*' Which is silly enough even for the fantastical Marquis. The Equerry was too remote from the Emperor to play any such part. O'Meara and Montholon have nothing new to say. So let his godspeed be in Stürmer's selfish words to Lowe : 'As for Piontkowski and his companions in misfortune, I can but wish them a happy journey, and pray Heaven that all that remains of this proscribed race may be banished from Earth. It will be the surest way of putting an end to the *désagréments* we suffer every day in this abominable exile.'² Which shows that though Santini, too, was departing, there would still be left a potential assassin at St. Helena.

The transport made sail for the Cape the same day. A little formality had to be gone through (and, incidentally, a precedent set) before the Captain and his three companions were allowed to depart—the search, to wit.

¹ *Journal*, i. 252.

² L.P., 20,116, f. 240.

O'Meara tells us they were stripped, but he exaggerates. From the *Letters* we gather they were pretty thoroughly 'gone over,' and the searcher evidently prided himself upon the good job he had made of it: 'Agreeable to your orders, I searched the baggage and persons of Captain Piontkowski and the servants most minutely. Everything was correct, and no Papers either sealed or otherwise were found. The *David* was under weigh when I left, and has now made sail.'¹ Alas, that such liberties should be taken with a British officer and gentleman! Maybe the 'papers' were not 'sealed.' But they were certainly *con-cealed* . . . 'or otherwise'! Santini, for one, took away with him the identical copy of Montholon's Letter which now figures (minus the first sheet or two) in the Wilson Papers, annexed to the *Letters*.² It is written in St. Denis' hand upon foolscap of 1814-15 with the E.I.C. watermark, and bears grievous traces of the folding, rubbing, tearing, and other ill-usage it was subjected to in transit. Wilson has endorsed it: 'Original document brought by Mons. Santini from St. Helena. This document was put into his hands by Gen. Bertrand; and the Emperor Napoleon commanded Santini if he conveyed it safe, *which was not expected*, to publish it either in England or America. The order has been obeyed, and England has had an opportunity to vindicate her honour.' The passage I have italicized supplies us, I think, with the reason for which Piontkowski took the trouble—as he with pardonable vanity impresses upon us—to commit to memory the whole of that lengthy and dialectical Protest. We knew pretty certainly already that he must have done so, for Gourgaud 'revealed' the

¹ R. C. Mansel, Capt. 53rd Regiment and D.A.Q.M.G., to Lowe, October 19, 1816, L.P., 20, 116, f. 243.

² Add. MSS., 30, 142, ff. 63-67.

fact¹ and Madame Bertrand confided it to O'Meara,² who promptly retailed the 'secret' to Lowe, the latter apprizing Bathurst of it, with an expression of genuine wonder at the astounding accuracy of the Pole's memory.³ Then there were other things smuggled. If we may credit the remarkable document given in Appendix F—and on this particular theme it is, I think, trustworthy—Piontkowski took away quite a batch of letters from Napoleon to Cambacérès, Fouché, Carnot, and Merlin de Douai. Santini, in addition, charged himself with other letters (? duplicates) for the same persons, and besides, three decorations, of the Legion of Honour, the Iron Crown, and the Réunion, and finally two locks of hair for Marie-Louise and the Duke of Reichstadt. Incidentally, Piontkowski was also entrusted with a lock of Napoleon's hair for Capel Lofft—the second gift of the sort made by the Emperor to the English jurist.⁴ Rousseau smuggled a map of St. Helena for the American sympathizers; whilst, lastly, Archambault seems to have got away with nothing more illicit than a full purse and a clear conscience. The quartette, in the *David*, were in charge of Ensign Croad 'and his party.' According to Reade's orders, they were 'not to be considered as prisoners in confinement, but only restricted as to their landing or holding communication with the shore upon arrival at the Cape.'⁵ Croad,⁶

¹ L.P., 20, 121, f. 272.

² *Ibid.*, 20, 119, f. 351.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 371. M. Masson (i. 16) errs, I think, in stating it was a letter written on satin that Santini took away. There ~~was~~ was a copy made on silk or satin, but Santini was relieved of it by Cipriani before his departure.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, V. x. 384.

⁵ C.O., 247. 6.

⁶ Ensign Croad of the 66th was, like Wardell, of that ilk, or Basil Jackson of the R.S.C., one of Lowe's young men and *persona grata* at Plantation. He was entrusted by the Governor on sundry occasions with little missions of a third-rate order, such as this. He figures chiefly as Nicholls' understudy, just as Fitz-

in addition, was given verbal instructions by Lowe—whose 'favourite character in real life' must certainly have been Torquemada, and 'in fiction' Asmodeus—that any information he could worm out of Piontkowski on the journey, especially as relating to the affair of the Botanist Welle, would be thrice welcome and be accounted to him for righteousness. So the young Ensign did his best, 'kept a sentry on deck during the whole voyage,' and as soon as he reached the Cape wrote off to the Governor that in the course of the one conversation he had had with his chief charge, the latter had declared *inter alia* that St. Helena was assailable,¹ that France was disaffected, that Napoleon was being half-starved, and that Nagle had really drawn *him* out.² Lowe,

Gerald was Poppleton's and Jackson Blakeney's. Whilst preserving a certain self-complacency, which appears in his reports to Lowe—whereof the style seems modelled upon the Governor's own—he caught something of the Orderly Officer's naïveté. As Nicholls knew no French (he wished to be relieved on that ground as early as April 1, 1819) Croad generally interpreted for him, though Bertrand doubted the ability of this 'jeune homme de vingt ans' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 35), and would probably have preferred Dr. Verling, who volunteered in August, 1819. This, written to the A.D.C., seems culled from one of Lowe's own meticulous missives: 'I *believe* the above to be the exact value of the French he [Pierron] made use of. I employ the English word "Emperor," which is the exact equivalent to the French one "Empereur" which he expressed' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 16). The notion of Croad teaching French on *those* lines to Gorrequer, who, after Balmain, was the best French scholar on the Island, is delicious. The young ensign, who was remarkable for possessing very gentlemanly manners and did not deserve being termed 'un soldato' by Antommarchi, came into contact with Napoleon once or twice; on one occasion extricating the phaeton from some ruts at the gate. The 'General' cheered his heart with a very gracious salute.

¹ In which, apparently, he was of a mind with Lowe. On July 9, 1816, the Governor writes to Bathurst that he considers St. Helena by no means impregnable: 'I have ascertained at least 23 several points where a landing might be effected' (C.O., 247. 5).

² C.O., 247. 6.

besides, indited a long 'private' letter to Somerset at the Cape, dated October 19, in which he posted his fellow-Governor up in the latest Piontkowskian *personalia* (more or less veridical), dwelt upon the Nagle incident, and wound up with this pregnant passage: 'It is possible, when he finds himself cut off from all intercourse with the persons he has been connected with here, when he hears no effort was made to retain him amongst them, Piontkowski may abate in some degree from the affection he has hitherto borne to General Bonaparte; may see in the French officers who surround him [Napoleon] only so many persons who have endeavoured to make an instrument of him and disowned his proceedings when they found he was detected; and be finally induced to discuss many things regarding the Family he has left; particularly if the return to Europe is held forth as the condition of his disclosures.'¹ A Daniel come to judgment! It was no friendly hand that penned the foregoing—far from it. And yet there stand forth the humble Lancer's disinterested devotion to Napoleon (so often doubted since) and the unworthy treatment meted to him by the Longwood Followers (so strongly adumbrated in the *Letters*). And, might the cynic add, a little piece of Machiavellism on Sir Hudson's part to boot!

The *David* reached the Cape on November 10.² Even as with Napoleon on the *Northumberland*, *si parva licet*, Piontkowski remained two or three days on board pending preparations on shore. On the 12th Somerset writes to Lowe: 'I shall not fail to attend to the hints contained in your letter [of October 19, above], and to transmit to you any information which Capt. Piontkowski may be inclined to communicate. I have not as

¹ C.O., 247. 6.

² Log of *Newcastle*, Appendix C.

yet permitted him to land, having thought it expedient to place him in Apartments in the Castle here (which cannot be prepared before to-morrow), out of which he will not be allowed to go without being accompanied by an Officer, who is to have charge of him. I have strictly forbidden that he should be visited by or have any communication with any Foreigners, under pain of being closely confined. . . . The 1st Battalion of the 60th Regt. constitutes one-half of our military force here, and is composed exclusively of Foreigners who have nearly all served under Bonaparte's banner. From this circumstance your Excellency will perceive that an evil-disposed person has a fair field here for forwarding his views.¹ From which His Excellency might also have perceived that the Cape was manifestly *the* very last place to which St. Helena malcontents and recalcitrants should have been sent. That he blinked the fact is shown by his deportation thither of various persons during the next four years, including Las Cases and Gentilini.

Of Piontkowski's stay at the Cape there is little to say; it was so very brief—a mere three or four weeks. That he was well treated appears from the grateful expressions in his letter to Bathurst² on his return to England; and that he behaved himself and gave no trouble is certified by Somerset's note to Lowe of November 28: 'Nothing has transpired during their residence here.'³ One collateral circumstance, however, has its importance, and it is this: The *David*, on its arrival at its destination, found the flagship *Newcastle* at anchor in the Bay; and, though Piontkowski had no opportunity to renew his acquaintance with Malcolm, seeing that he was only allowed to land on the 13th, the day of the Admiral's sailing for St.

¹ L.P., 20, 117, f. 21.

² See p. 154.

³ C.O., 247. 6.

Helena, yet his detention formed the subject of an important consultation between Lord Charles and Sir Pulteney, the upshot of which was that purely at the latter's suggestion the Governor of the Cape decided to repatriate his four charges very soon, and embark them for England 'on a private vessel not touching at St. Helena.'¹ Failing such vessel, Malcolm proposed a man-of-war; and a few days after his departure Somerset approached Captain Cochrane, of the *Orontes*, and the latter agreed to take Piontkowski and the others, the date of sailing being fixed at December 3, though it was shifted later to the 8th. This joint action on the part of the naval and military powers at the Cape proved extremely distasteful to Lowe, who was more than surprised at it, as he had confidently expected that the four men he had just deported would have had a 'moral quarantine' of some six months or so imposed upon them ere they were allowed the opportunity for political activity in Europe or America. This, he must doubtless have reflected, would create an excellent precedent, and might even prove a deterrent to intending mischief-makers on the Island. So that this 'officious interference' of Malcolm's and this 'disposition to intermeddle' (as Lowe termed it),² repeated as it was in the case of Las Cases' repatriation a little later,³ fostered the resentment which had ere now been born in the Governor's breast against the Admiral. One does not quite see what Lowe wanted, and why Malcolm couldn't be allowed freedom of action in the matter; for the former deliberately washed his hands of the foreigners as soon as they left St. Helena; and yet still pretended to the chief voice as to their future movements—which strikes one as unreasonable. In Las Cases'

¹ L.P., 20,118, f. 425.

² L.P., 20,125, f. 67v.

³ L.P., 20,118, f. 27.

case, for instance, he writes to Bathurst : ' From the time of Ct. Las Cases' departure from this Island I consider myself to have no further relation with him ' ;¹ and yet informs Malcolm that he ' wants to be consulted ' as to his return to France,² and later, on June 6, 1817, he complains to the State Secretary of Sir Pulteney's conduct in offering a vessel to Somerset unknown to himself.³ This ' collusion ' between Malcolm and Somerset at the Cape was one of the three chief counts in the misunderstanding (as Forsyth mildly calls it)⁴ between Lowe and the Naval Commander ; and as it was Piontkowski who first gave rise to it, I may be allowed a digression upon this noted ' coolness,' which was so much exploited on both sides, and about which Lowe's apologist has, for an obvious reason, so very little to say.

Forsyth, writing in 1853, confesses that he is rather puzzled by it, its ' precise origin being difficult to discover.' Stürmer's editors comment : ' Forsyth is wrong in supposing that it would be hard to know to what the coolness between Lowe and Malcolm could be attributed. Malcolm several times offered to act as intermediary between Napoleon and Lowe.⁵ Lowe took umbrage at the sympathy Napoleon showed to Malcolm, and this was enough to embroil the two men who up to that time had been almost friends.'⁶ True enough, but very incompre-

¹ L.P., 20, 118, f. 65 ; *ibid.*, f. 117.

² L.P., 20, 118, f. 234.

³ L.P., 20, 118, f. 449.

⁴ *ii.* 167.

⁵ Malcolm offered his mediation not only between Lowe and Napoleon but also between Lowe and Balmain, whom he volunteered to speak to and in Sir Hudson's interest point out the inadvisability of his meetings with Gourgaud and the other Followers. As in the former case, the Governor refused Malcolm's kindly offices though quite awake to the advantages that would accrue therefrom to him. Thus did he cut off his nose to spite his face and let jealousy override judgment, lest the Admiral should by a successful stroke of diplomacy acquire a little official prestige. (L.P., 20, 118, f. 364.)

⁶ P. 252.

hensive. Other writers have told us it sprang from that great scene of August 18, 1816—Napoleon's last interview with Lowe—which is nearer the mark, but still not all-embracing. Lady Malcolm gave all the main lines, but suppressed much of the filling. As we know, there were three grounds in chief—(1) the Last Interview, (2) the repatriation of Piontkowski and Las Cases, (3) the Cape Contracts. As regards the first, you remember the circumstances. Lowe and Malcolm had called upon Napoleon and were received on the lawn in front of the house. The three walked up and down the whole time, whilst a humbler trio, Las Cases, Gorrequer, and Madame de Montholon, kept at a respectful distance. The Emperor seized the occasion to make a bitter personal attack upon the Governor, which he regretted subsequently, and which was aggravated at the time by the fact that Lowe's presence was ignored and the invective about 'him' and 'his' conduct addressed to the Admiral: it was not so much what the Emperor said, as the way he said it. Doubtless it was an unconscious echo of the old Imperial manner. It was part of Napoleon's system when in power never to rate an offender except in the presence of others, the more numerous and less familiar the better. This was sound policy: for the angry words were noised far and wide, and a dozen transgressors besides, all perhaps equally deserving of censure, had the 'fear of God' vicariously struck into their hearts, and mended their ways in the sight of their master. Thus did one terrible *scène* save a score—to the busiest man of his day. It was, I think, this old 'gallery' spirit that awoke on the 18th, though really quite inadmissible in the circumstances. Had Lowe and the Emperor been alone, the tête-à-tête might have been very different. But Malcolm it was, the pleasant, *sympathique*, restful familiar of

Longwood, who paradoxally caused the outburst ; for *he* made it objectively worth while to Napoleon. He was the flint upon which that steely Intellect struck its spark, and Lowe, as the shrivelled tinder, could never forgive him in consequence. As the two Englishmen came away, what private umbrage the Governor had from the first taken at the Admiral's popularity with the late Master of Europe must, I fancy, have been entirely outweighed by the mortification of knowing that in a spot where Service jealousy was so rife, the humiliation of the Army had been witnessed by the Navy. This of course does not appear in Forsyth ; but so little of the undercurrent ever does. Malcolm, on his side, may have derived a little cynical satisfaction from the process, and have looked upon it as a small compensation for the petty ' supervision ' that he and his Captains were subjected to at the hands of the Army, in the person of Reade.¹ Then there were the other things. Judging by the tiresome length at which the second grievance was repeatedly ventilated by Lowe in his letters to Malcolm and Somerset, and his despatches to Bathurst during the spring and summer of 1817, one gathers that the question of the *Orontes* and the vessel destined for Las Cases—it never got so far as the actual name—became a very sore one with the Governor. One single period to Bathurst is a fair specimen : ' I was further urged to make an inquiry on this point [Las Cases' repatriation], as I had felt a considerable degree of disappointment on finding that Captain Piontkowski, who had been ordered away from the Island, and with respect to whom I had written in a very particular manner to Lord Charles Somerset, suggesting the propriety of his

¹ *E.g.* : ' Stanfell has been closeted with the Admiral since 8 o'clock this morning, and still remains with him. I suppose he is telling him everything ' (Reade to Lowe, L.P., 20, 118, f. 222).

not being immediately permitted to return to England, had come back very suddenly here with the persons who had been sent away with him, which had a very unfavourable influence in many ways, and as Sir Pulteney Malcolm on his return here from the Cape, where he happened to be when Captain Piontkowski arrived there, had acquainted me that he had recommended Lord Charles Somerset to send him home in a private ship which would not touch at this Island, though, as he himself expressed to me at the time, he did not expect he would have removed him quite so soon, and as the whole of this opinion was without reference to mine, and without the knowledge of what I might have written to Lord Charles Somerset on this occasion.¹ Phew ! what a sentence : in which the Governor flounders blindly—or at most single-*I'd*—amongst three several *he's* and three separate *as'es* ! I leave it to Smith *minor* to analyze, and pass on to the third grievance. The question of the Cape Contracts was tedious, technical, and complicated, affecting on the one hand the St. Helena storekeepers, like Balcombe, Carr, Carroll, Solomon, and Fowler, and on the other the Capetown dealers, middlemen, and merchant Captains, like Harrington, Luson, Rose, Heathorn, and the rest. In a nutshell it came to this : that Lowe objected to Malcolm's devoting too large a proportion of the available tonnage of the naval store-ships, transports, and tenders to the fulfilment of private contracts on the Island and too little for the use of Government and officialdom generally.² Though Malcolm had a perfect right to allocate his space as he chose, and was only following the precedent set by Cockburn, and later clung to traditionally by Plampin himself (much to Reade's annoyance),³ yet, from the

¹ L.P., 20,118, f. 449.

² L.P., 20,125, f. 66.

³ L.P., 20,207, f. 146.

point of view of the public good, Lowe was justified in demurring, and was only, in a way, reviving an old St. Helena ordinance of 1809 which had fallen into desuetude at Napoleon's arrival.¹ The whole matter is dealt with very fully in Lowe's lengthy despatch to Bathurst of November 20, 1819, and need detain us no longer.²

In addition to the foregoing and to the many subsidiary points of difference, some of quite a feline nature—like those of Balcombe's hospitalities to the Admiral and his Captains, and Malcolm's refusal of a pass to Rainsford, though bearer of papers from the Governor³—Lowe could never quite agree to the Naval Commander-in-Chief's interpretation of his Instructions and always suspected some subtle undermining by the Navy of his own military and carcerary prerogatives. His pet stalking-horse was the 'Dual Command and Single Responsibility,' which in despatches often goes tandem with that other hippopotamian, or *Meso*-potamian, formula, 'Unity of Opinion and Unity of Action.' In theory, perhaps, the blessed thing was so; but Malcolm was no theorist, and saw what practical contingencies might arise and how deeply they might affect him. He never stomached that 'singleness'

¹ On the arrival of vessels with cargo for sale, the right of purchase rested, firstly with the Government, secondly with Government servants and landowners, and thirdly—after three days—with shopkeepers (*St. Helena Records*, October 23, 1809).

² L.P., 20,128, ff. 397-402. Harrington supplies the comical note. Though only a third-rate British merchant-skipper, pitchforked into a general agency for St. Helena, he happened also to be Russian Vice-Consul at the Cape. When Lowe brings up his name, he takes refuge behind his diplomatic inviolability, and does his best to drag Balmain into the quarrel. The Russian Commissioner, who had enough grounds of dispute with Lowe on his own account, failed to see the matter from quite so elevated a standpoint (L.P., 20,126, f. 412).

³ L.P., 20,207, f. 36.

of Lowe's.¹ Why should he? If in some extraordinary circumstance, such as the panic of a great earthquake—there were two minor shocks felt during the Captivity—Napoleon had contrived to cheat all Lowe's pickets and soldiery, and boarded a friendly vessel—one East India Company's Captain offered his—and that ship had been allowed to sail away by the cruisers, who, in the familiar phrase, would have been hanged? Malcolm most assuredly. Or if that plot, given in all its details in Appendix F, had succeeded, the Admiral would have incurred equal odium and equal penalties with the Governor. So that when Lowe, whose Pooh-Bah functions gave him the Pooh-Bah *hauteur*—if he couldn't get at his man *qua* Military Commander, he did it as Civil Governor, or as King's Officer, or even as Chairman of the Island Council—let Malcolm feel that *he* and *he* only counted in the Custodianship, small wonder that the Admiral took umbrage and that the volleying epistles became more acrid as they became more frequent. It is amusing as well as instructive to note their progress. Though Lowe opens his battery with that letter, 'of an improper tenor' as Malcolm thought it, as early as November 23, 1816, things did not really 'hum' till the following March, when 'My dear Sir' is already yielding to a curt 'Sir.' On the 26th, Lowe, in his second letter that day, with an assumption of innocence puts out a feeler: 'My communications to Lord Charles Somerset failed in a certain degree of their effect, from some particular causes with which I am unacquainted, in respect of Captain Piontkowski.'² The Admiral replies in time for the Governor to despatch him a third letter ere night-

¹ In 1820, probably under Plampin's influence, Lowe abated a trifle, and granted the Admiral in theory and in practice a 'share' of responsibility (L.P., 20, 130, f. 390).

² L.P., 20, 118, f. 236.

fall, in which he wants to know *all* that Malcolm had said to Somerset : ' My reference to Capt. Piontkowski was not so much to his embarkation on board the *Orontes* as to his being immediately sent to England.'¹ The Admiral answers in the few lines habitual with him. On the 27th, Lowe acidulates : ' I can only regret that he [Somerset] should have received any communication, official or private, from a person of your high rank on the Station on a subject of such delicacy as that of Ct. Las Cases' eventual removal.'² On the 31st, Lowe ergotizes and rebuts the analogy Malcolm had drawn between the cases of Piontkowski and Las Cases.³ On April 3, Gorrequer plays first fiddle—both Reade and Brooke took up the running as well before the poor single-handed sailor had departed—and, as A.D.C., interviews the Admiral at great length, retracing the whole controversial ground of the past few months. In reply, Sir Pulteney ' deprecates such long correspondence ; cavilling was not in his nature ; he was no lawyer (*sic*), but frank and open, and would always be so ; he was hurt by the formal long letters of the Governor without previous word.'⁴ And he writes himself to Lowe : ' As I am desirous that this disagreeable correspondence should end, I have confined myself to those [points] I consider the most essential.'⁵ Poor Malcolm again ! *End ?* Alas ! the Governor was only just getting into his proper stride, just finding that terrible ' second wind ' of his, which finally blew the *Newcastle* right out of the Station, for the bombardment was kept up by sloops and whalers till the flagship was well past the Line on her homeward way. Oh, that correspondence of Lowe's ! Those lucubrations of Gorrequer's ! That everlasting *fatras d'écrits*, as the Captive scornfully

¹ L.P., 20, 118, f. 237. ² *Ibid.*, f. 243.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 271.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 286.

⁵ C.O., 247. 9.

termed it! How it swamped them all, French and English, Austrian and Russian alike, with its ridiculous red-tape, its endless repetitions, its minute particulars, its particular minutes, its unworthy innuendoes, its verbal hair-splitting,¹ its clerical triplications, and its confidential

¹ Of Lowe's turn for playing with words and phrases—though never *upon* them—there are many instances, some highly amusing. His Orderly Officers, we have seen, were not stylists; yet their epithets are critically assessed for Bathurst's benefit: 'Between *deadly* and *ghastly* [in Lutyens' reports] there can be little difference. Gen. Bonaparte's face can hardly be any paler than when I last saw it' (L.P., 20, 132, f. 56). When Montchenu joins in, the thing becomes quite farcical: 'The Marquis commented on my using the term "fils de Marie Louise" instead of "fils de Napoléon" in my note to him. I said it appeared to me more suitable to call him [the King of Rome] by that name than that of the "son of Napoleon." "Mais il n'est fils ni de l'un ni de l'autre, comme je vous ai dit," added the Marquis. "Je me souviens bien," I replied, "de ce que vous m'avez dit là-dessus." In reference to this observation of the Marquis, it is proper to observe that he holds to the opinion that the Child called Napoleon is not the natural-born son of Arch-Dutchess Maria-Louisa and Napoleon Bonaparte, but the child of some other person procured for the occasion and introduced into the bed of the Arch-Dutchess at the time of her reported delivery, and he has frequently assured me with much confidence that he knows the fact to be so' (Lowe to Bathurst, L.P., 20, 132, f. 11).

Or take this sidelight on the Stokoe case. Bathurst writes that at O'Meara's removal Baxter had better replace him, but if the 'General' objects to him, 'let him select some other medical man on the Island.' Partial to naval surgeons, Napoleon chooses Stokoe, of the flagship *Conqueror*, then permanently at anchor in the Roads, Plampin himself being installed at Briars for his three years. Lowe goes off grumbling to the two Commissioners and complains of the Emperor's choice on the ground that Stokoe is really not *on* the Island but *off* it! In the very next breath he tells them that Stokoe's second most important duty is attending the hospital at Lemon Valley, where a house had been expressly built for the surgeon (L.P., 20, 125, f. 198). Lowe, who at times lapsed into rather dubious cricket, was not so particular about the 'on' and the 'off' if it suited his purpose. When the Rev. Mr. Boys returns to St. Helena after his *Wanderjahs* in two hemispheres and another twelvemonth in England [where Sir Hudson has suspected him of abetting with Holmes and Balcombe O'Meara's designs, and with Malcolm and Parry a supposed cabal against him in the Court of Directors—Boys clears himself

postscripts. Malcolm hated it, Napoleon despised it, the Commissioners loathed it, even Bathurst was bored by it.¹

to Reade in a short straightforward letter which is convincing (L.P., 20,130, f. 282), and writes a 'seven-sheeter' to Lowe, which the latter scouts as 'presumptuous' (L.P., 20,133, f. 383)] the Governor spitefully deprives the Senior Chaplain of some of his former duties and prerogatives in favour of his junior, Vernon, and especially of his *confrère*, Sampson, on that same *Conqueror*. When Boys calls on Reade, the *fidus Achates* ostentatiously refuses his proffered hand (L.P., 20,130, f. 144). The worthy pastor, whose humanity was as pronounced as his independence, and who was ever in the forefront when the welfare of the lower orders was at stake, was well quit of the brutal D.A.G., and probably regretted he had not retained the snuff-box Napoleon sent him for burying Cipriani. Though the *Morning Chronicle* (November 12, 1818) erred in crediting him with the abolition of the slave-trade at St. Helena, yet he had for years agitated to that end and had prepared men's minds to accept the proposal when made by Lowe. The example, one notes, was very soon after followed by 'Radama, King of Madagascar,' whose enlightened and xenophil Proclamation figures in the Papers (20,131, f. 116). Of course Boys' tribulations began when he stood up on the Sabbath and preached against Plampin's *ménage*, Lowe thought, at Lady Malcolm's suggestion (L.P., 20,122, f. 50). The militant cleric, who was ever prone to run a tilt by word or pen (he conducted the *St. Helena Register*) against the powers that were, and was cordially hated in consequence by Secretary Brooke and the other M.C.'s, that day entered the Black Lists of Plantation House and became at a bound a suspect *di primo cartello*. There is a cryptic note of Reade to Gorrequer in reply to some query of the latter as to a sermon—I surmise on the above occasion. The text was from Titus iii. 4-7, and the preacher introduced the third verse with effect: 'For we ourselves also were sometimes foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another' (L.P., 20,131, f. 371). Boys, whose luck in the pulpit seems to have been the *fors clavigera* (most times a 'key' and always a 'club'!), treated Lowe and his set to a farewell fulmination as they were leaving the Island, witness this entry in the *St. Helena Records*:

'July 9, 1821. Governor's minutes on Mr. Boys' sermon preached from text, "Publicans and harlots go into the Kingdom of Heaven before you" (*sic*); a sermon reflecting rudely upon the upper classes of Society. Mr. B. is requested to send a copy of his sermon for perusal. Mr. B. refuses.'

¹ As Lowe himself surmised: 'My correspondence must, I fear, prove very tiresome to Earl Bathurst. . . . I hardly consider

It seemed the be-all and end-all of its author's existence, the very breath of his nostrils. Had St. Helena sunk beneath the waves in some such fiery cataclysm as originally brought it into being,¹ and the Governor remained stranded in solitary state on Halley's Mount

myself at liberty to use any discretion as to retrenchment in my details, and have abundance still before me for future occasions' (L.P., 20,121, f. 433); 'The voluminous details which accompany this letter will, I fear, afford yr. Lordship a tiresome subject of perusal' (L.P., 20,124, f. 87).

¹ Whether their native Rock was the last vestige of some great submerged Atlantis, or the basaltic belching of a submarine volcano, was perhaps the pet question debated amongst the more zetetic 'Yamstocks,' headed by Dr. Kay. Forsyth inclined to the former theory, while most of the men he wrote of favoured the latter. An interesting sidelight upon the rather *effacé* Abbé Buonavita is afforded us by certain letters he indited to his friend Perez at Rome during the summer of 1820, which are mostly copied in the Lowe Papers. He there appears to us as a man of once greater parts than the sneering Montholon would have us believe, and his knowledge of geology is of a high order. One epistle he pens 'come naturalista,' and starting with the premiss that St. Helena is 'un prodotto d' un Volcano submarino; la sua forma un cono troncato irregolarmente, e noi siamo nella sommità,' he goes on to prove in a very technical strain various natural facts that follow, and scouts the contention that the island is the residuum of a submerged Continent, 'as some have pretended' (L.P., 20,204, f. 133). But for all its physiological fascinations, St. Helena was more than the old *padre* could stand, and had he not hurried off in the *Orwell*, he, too, might have been left in sections in his 'truncated cone.' He was fast lapsing into senile decay, and was at the end unequal to even the simple duties expected of him. Gorrequer's picture of his plight is pitiable: 'The Abbé observed he was upwards of 68 years of age; said he was losing his faculties, his memory, his appetite; that his lower extremities were always cold and his head in a violent heat, the blood frequently rushing up to it with such force as if it would spout out of his eyes, nose, mouth, and ears . . . he had a dizziness in the head (giramento di capo) as if about to fall. . . . When he sat down to table the vapours mounted up from his stomach to his head and he felt unable to swallow a mouthful' (L.P., 20,132, f. 42). When Dr. Livingstone all but died of apoplexy (L.P., 20,128, f. 423) it is a marvel Buonavita did not succumb entirely. There must have been something in both their names.

or Diana's Pinnacle, why, Lowe would have dictated a despatch to Hudson, and Hudson had it signed and sealed by Lowe! And so it goes on through April and May into June, and as the Governor is about to lose his antagonist he redoubles in acerbity. He wants to know what Napoleon has said to the Admiral in the last long conversation of June 19, and the latter humours him very fully, where he might easily have sent him away with a flea in his ear. Lowe answers on the 21st: 'Some of the observations [of Napoleon], I have reason¹ to believe, were expressed with much more violence and embraced a greater variety of remarks than what your note has conveyed to me,'² and so forth. And *that's* the thanks Sir Pulteney gets! The next day, June 22, he rejoins with dignity: 'You may certainly prevent my visits to Longwood, but whilst I have the honour to hold my present command I must act in everything according to my own judgment. Whatever impressions may be in your mind and however much I may regret our difference of opinion, I feel satisfied my conduct on this and on every other occasion has been actuated by a sincere desire to promote the public good.'³ Alas, that Malcolm should have to defend himself thus to Lowe! The latter turns nasty and on June 24 retorts: 'You have, Sir, seen my authority and instructions. I have never seen yours. I am not aware in what respect the public service has been benefited by your visits to General Bonaparte.'⁴ And Malcolm, in disgust, frankly tells Lowe: 'Your style of writing to me for a considerable time past has been so repugnant,' etc.⁵

¹ A garbled version obtained at second or third hand from Captain Jenkins Jones of the *Julia*, who was waiting with Captain Wright in the next room during nearly the whole of the interview (Meynell's *Conversations*, 1911, p. 61).

² L.P., 20, 118, f. 482.

³ *Ibid.*, f. 485.

⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 492.

⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 511.

All this is what the euphemistic Forsyth terms 'no quarrel, but an interruption of the cordial relations'!¹ When, on July 4, Malcolm boarded his flagship homeward bound, he must, I fancy, have allowed two sighs to escape him: one of relief that he was at last shut of Sir Hudson, and one of regret that a greater than he could not experience that surcease. Upon landing in England he must have told Bathurst a few very plain truths that carried conviction, for when the voluminous packet Lowe

¹ For how long? One would logically assume that the 'cordial relations' were renewed, and that with the Admiral's departure the Governor gracefully agreed to let bygones be bygones. That was not Lowe's nature. Even more remarkable than his talent for quarrelling with everybody (save Reade and Gorrequer) was his aptitude for hounding people who had passed out of his ken. You remember he tried to break Poppleton, freshly landed in England and proud of his new majority, for accepting a snuff-box—till Bathurst snubbed him for his pains (L.P., 20,124, f. 232). Here Malcolm becomes his King Charles' head, and that to the end of the Captivity. Whoever the wretch incurs his displeasure, whichever the criminal he pillories in despatches—Balcombe or Boys, Holmes or O'Meara, Solomon or Cole, Carroll or Harrington—the Governor is pretty sure to drag in Malcolm by the scruff of the neck and have everything originate with him. Especially does he bracket him with Balcombe—on Walker's principle, no doubt. The purveyor, we know, occasionally entertained naval officers; whence, according to the Governor, his misdeeds are due to his being 'elevated by the Admiral's attentions' (L.P., 20,121, f. 232). Sir Pulteney is no sooner in England than Lowe suspects him of plotting against him, for any outspoken criticism of his actions is necessarily to him a 'cabal' or a 'plot.' Three whole years after, during his misunderstanding with the Court of Directors, Lowe is still harping. 'I am justified in ascribing many false impressions entertained respecting this Island to Sir Pulteney Malcolm. . . . An officer on Lord Charles Somerset's staff said to Sir Thomas Reade: "You can form no idea of the harm and mischief the conversation of these persons (*sic*) did you whilst they were at the Cape"' (Lowe to Bathurst, June 6, 1820, L.P., 20,130, f. 102). That settles it, of course: the Navy judged by the Army with a Reade for deponent, is bound to be Gospel! What Malcolm thought of all this, and what retaliation he threatened, we have already seen (p. 29, note).

had announced he was sending reached Downing Street, with all the grievances set forth in detail, and the fair copies of the great correspondence made out *in extenso*, you remember his lordship consigned it unread to a drawer.¹ He gives Lowe quite another reason for his action. I venture to think that this was a piece of very pardonable 'diplomacy,' and that he was letting his agent down easily. Had Sir Pulteney really never opened his mouth, Bathurst would have unsealed the packet to learn what all the quarrel referred to could possibly have been about.

But let us return to our wethers.

On December 9, 1816, the *Orontes* sailed from the Cape with Piontkowski and the three servants on board. There was no longer any suggestion of supervision and the Pole was treated as any passenger might be and messed with the officers of the ship.² The only reminder of the *David* was that, on this occasion, too, the first Lieutenant, acting on Somerset's instructions for the benefit of Lowe, tried to 'draw' Piontkowski on the hidden details of the Welle affair:³ his success was no greater than Croad's. To the regret of both Governors, the *Orontes*, for Service purposes, had to touch at St. Helena, which was reached on December 18. Its arrival was expected, and the day before, Reade, whose department controlled the relations of all ships with the shore, had determined to isolate the vessel and had written to Lowe: 'It will require great caution to prevent communication with them when they arrive.'⁴ Malcolm agreed, and gave instructions to the

¹ Forsyth, ii. 412.

² 'Le Colonel Piontkowski mangeait avec l'état-major de l'*Orontes*' (Santini, 1854, p. 270).

³ L.P., 20, 117, f. 269.

⁴ L.P., 20, 116, f. 326.

same effect on the 18th,¹ and the Log shows that guard-boats were kept all night rowing round the frigate. In view of which, the efforts made by all the four to get into touch with Longwood were rather pathetic. Piontkowski wrote as follows to Reade: '*Orontes*, Dec. 20th, 1816.—I take the liberty of praying you to back my request to H.E. the Governor to obtain permission to land at St. Helena under guard of an officer in order to buy several things I need.'² Given the escort, one hardly sees why this request to go shopping should have been refused. Santini, too, applied to the D.A.G., frankly for the purpose of 'seeing his comrades,' and his letter (misdated 21 '9bre' for '10bre'), written in rather faulty Italian,³ was taken subsequently as a criterion by Lowe when confronted with the *soi-disant* Santini brochure of March, 1817.⁴ Rousseau and Archambault made similar applications, and for some reason or other the restriction laid down by Reade but two or three days before was relaxed as a favour to the last-named, and Archambault *cadet*, the *piqueur* at Longwood, was allowed to visit the *Orontes* and speak with his brother. Which interview conduced to a little gossip, if nothing more, and the groom came back to his Master with sundry stories of the Cape which must be taken with a large grain of salt. And here Gourgaud places a puzzling passage.⁵ He tells us that Archambault, on his return from the ship, related that 'au Cap on avait été obligé de *serrer* Piontkowski;' which can only mean that 'one'—*i.e.*, the authorities—had been obliged to 'confine' or 'restrain' the Pole. Nothing of the sort occurred, as we know. I submit to Gourgaud's Editors⁶ that they have misread his manuscript, and

¹ L.P., 20,117, f. 230.

² L.P., 20,117, f. 268.

³ L.P., 20,117, f. 36.

⁴ C.O., 247. 9.

⁵ *Journal*, i. 335.

⁶ Gourgaud's Editors pique themselves upon having corrected many errors of the Diarist's, especially in the matter of English

that the verb he wrote was *servir* ; that is, that ' they '—*i.e.*, the three servants—had been compelled to *wait upon* Piontkowski *qua* officer, much to their disgust as ex-Imperial domestics. In support whereof I adduce this letter from Reade to Lowe of December 20 : ' I have been on board the *Orontes*, and have seen Santini, whose only

proper names. It is a pity they did not make the process more thorough by the simple expedient of glancing through O'Meara's or even Forsyth's Index. One can pass over ' Dewton ' for ' Doveton,' ' Glower ' for ' Glover,' ' Hudson ' for ' Hodson,' ' Dobjins ' for ' Dodgin,' ' Teague ' for ' Theed,' ' Gorey ' for ' Gorrequer,' ' Chucks ' for ' Brooks,' ' Penn ' for ' Payne,' ' London ' for ' Loudoun,' etc., etc. [By ' Monsieur de London ' (i. 180) Gourgaud presumably meant Lord Moira's son. Seeing what ' Monsieur de Paris ' connotes to a Frenchman, the Captive, if he ever heard his A.D.C.'s expression, must have thought that at last Bathurst had sent out his executioner !] But there is no excuse for ' Devil's Church Bowl,' with its sacrilegious suggestion ; nor for ' à Tiphaine ' and ' à Tissan ' (at tiffen), which many a poor Frenchman may have sought for in vain on the map. ' Sir Bingham ' and the like one hardly expects, too, from the Vicomte de Grouchy. *Noblesse oblige*—at least to a ' Whitaker ' ! And why trouble to enumerate the ships of a squadron (i. 51) when half of those you name were not there ? It little signifies how a few stray St. Helena ' Recollections,' or ' Conversations,' or ' Letters ' are edited ; but in the case of a work of the cardinal importance of the *Journal* one expects a high standard, and Gourgaud's Editors were miserably inept. I should not make these remarks but for their self-righteousness. When the Diarist mentions the notorious Cobbett (ii. 177) they give us a fatuous footnote in which they confuse Cobbett with Torbett of St. Helena and make out that the latter was really *Corbett*, though some misguided individuals have spelt it with a ' T ' or even an ' F.' I need not say that ' Corbett ' is wrong. The only bearer of the name who flits across the stage is a midshipman of the *Conqueror* (*Plampin's Journal*, April 6, 1820). The man's name was Richard Torbett. He was an elderly merchant in Jamestown—Lowe calls him ' a respectable shopkeeper.' He sold, amongst other things, Turkey carpets to Longwood ; and supplied Napoleon with his two bottles of water a day from his own pellucid spring. He and one of his four sons (a subaltern in the Island Regiment, who died of apoplexy in 1820) figure as subscribers to Barnes' *Tour*. He paid one visit to England. He lived next to Dr. Kay in a ' pleasant cottage ' in the Valley of

object in writing to you was for permission to see the servants at Longwood. The "thing he had to communicate to Your Excellency" was his ill-treatment during his stay at the Cape. He says they treated him as if he was a *cattivo soggetto* (bad lot) and forced him to attend Piontkowski as a servant, which he did not

the Geraniums, within or without the Limits according to period ; in the vicinity therefore of Reade (Alarm House), Ibbetson (Hutt's Gate), Harrison (*ibid.*), Brooke (Country House), Plampin (Briars), and Hodson (the Bungalow). As these could each and all keep an eye on him, he naturally became one of Lowe's suspects (Appendix E). Like Legg, Mason, Robinson and others, he received a visit from the Emperor in Cockburn's day. We have his evidence on oath in the case of Las Cases' servant, James Scott (C.O., 247. 6) ; and one or two things besides. Lastly, it was in his freehold, 'beneath the willows by the little fountain,' that the great Captain was inhumed—the epilogue being that, on October 25, 1824, Torbett writes to Lowe claiming compensation from the British Government, who have stopped him from levying a toll to the Tomb, on the ground of injury done to his property (L.P., 20,233, f. 238). I suppose the mat-monger didn't mean it, but really that was the limit ! Lowe's pale beside it ! But the Board of Arbitration took it *his* way and awarded the claimant £650 cash down and £50 a year for the time the body remained. That Torbett commuted in 1826, giving a receipt in full of all demands for £1,200 (*St. Helena Records*). A manuscript copy of that receipt, dated April 10, is bound up with Lockwood's mock-heroic *Guide to St. Helena* at the British Museum, along with a lot of other interesting matter. Torbett died apparently in the later 'thirties,' and

' Resigned unto the Heav'nly Will,
His Widow '—watched Napoleon still ;

for in 1840, at the time of the Translation, she was granted by the Prince de Joinville on behalf of the French Government a small life-pension ; and in 1852 we find her 'still deriving profit from the empty Tomb.' All those years she kept a Visitors' Book. One entry suffices—by the skipper of the *Henderson* barque :

' Captain Tweedie and his Party
Came to the Tomb of Bounoparté.'

Which French rime doubtless was intended as a compliment to the great dead !

like, being, as he says, just as good a man and as old a soldier as Piontkowski.'¹ Very possibly; but men are primarily assessed by their present status and not by their years of service or their recondite virtues, and you cannot blame Somerset for drawing a distinction between Piontkowski, *Chef d'escadron* and late Equerry at Longwood, and Santini the usher, *ci-devant* cobbler, tailor, and barber to the Exiles in one. During the *Orontes*' stay in the Roads no special effort seems to have been made by the French at Longwood to get into touch with their former comrades, though Napoleon sent them a gift of fresh provisions, possibly as a set-off to the two boxes of Cape oranges they had brought. On the afternoon of December 30, they might have seen Las Cases and his son on the *Griffin*, proceeding to the very spot they had just quitted, and for a much longer spell—one wonders if the officers had the grace to point out that coincidence—and at last, on January 3, 1817, they set sail once more for England. Needless to say, Somerset's *naïf* expectation had *not* been fulfilled: 'I had hoped that the *Orontes* would have quitted St. Helena without the circumstance of Captain Piontkowski being on board her being known to anyone but Your Excellency and the Admiral.'² The reason is given by Lowe to Bathurst: 'It was totally impossible to prevent its being known, as there is no laying restraints upon the vessels of war that anchor in the Roads, and have always communication with each other even before their boats are sent ashore.'³ With the departure of the *Orontes* comes Forsyth's opportunity, and he favours us with the only significant passage dealing with Piontkowski that he does *not* cut out of Lowe's despatches.⁴ He had better have suppressed that,

¹ L.P., 20, 207, f. 28.

² *Ibid.*, f. 65.

³ *Ibid.*, 20, 118, f. 30v.

⁴ ii. 60.

too ; for what the Governor writes on December 30 to Bathurst does not redound to his credit. It is this : ' I will not do General Bonaparte or the Officers of his suite the injustice to suppose Captain Piontkowski's falsehoods and impertinences are in any respect countenanced by them, and it will be recollected Gen. Bonaparte himself told Lt.-Col. Sir T. Reade that Piontkowski was merely a soldier of his guard at Elba and that he knew nothing further of him. He was not admitted to his table or society during his stay here. These particulars may serve for refutation of any importance he may think fit to assume on his arrival in Europe.' Compare, I ask you, the tone and tenour of the above official despatch with those of Lowe's private letter to Somerset of October 19, I have quoted. It is easy to say where the truth lies : it is certainly not here. Piontkowski was admitted on repeated occasions to Napoleon's table, and even the unfriendly Las Cases tells us that the Emperor took a pleasure in talking to his Equerry whenever he met him. Why Lowe should have performed this ungenerous *volte-face*, and here—in his 'justice'!—haughtily made the Generals disown the machinations of the Nagle affair which *there* he privily, and sagaciously, lays at their door, one is at a loss to conceive. Perhaps, by damning sometimes the opponent's witness—or the Opposition's—he was already defending himself against the criticism of his conduct which he rightly divined the repatriated Exiles would publish on arrival in Europe ? Whoever was or was not given to falsehood—and the notorious untruther at Longwood was that ' officer of the suite ' Montholon—one must confess that in this parting commination he levelled at Piontkowski Sir Hudson was guilty of a two-facedness it is very difficult to condone.

The *Orontes* made a good passage home—forty-three

days—two more than the record of forty-one achieved by the *Redpole* in 1815.¹ There was no incident to speak of, with the sole exception of a funeral on February 12, when nearly in sight of land.

And while in that 'sure and fast frigate,' which had saluted the Duchesse d'Angoulême on her return to her native land, and later had brought Stürmer to the Rock, Piontkowski is once again piling the knots behind him, and thinking anew of the wife who for months past has been on his account distraught, let us see what Monsieur Frédéric Masson—the only man who has written more than a page anent the Polish Follower—has to say about him and about her.

M. Masson has given us more books upon Napoleon than any historian alive, and has laid every student, critic, admirer, or worshipper of the last Great Man under a deep debt of gratitude. He has illuminated for us hundreds of obscure points, co-ordinated scores of seemingly disparate testimonies, revealed dozens of state and other secrets, and moved us to smiles or sighs with a wealth of ever interesting *ana*. In the familiar phrase, what M. Masson does not know about Napoleon is hardly worth knowing, and he has achieved complete mastery of the *intime* side of the Emperor; though, to be sure, I have heard more than one historian of repute question whether it is genuine oblation to Clio and a source of undiluted elation to Napoleonids of our day to have such minute investigations made, not only into the Hero's legitimate loves, but even into his illicit intrigues, his ephemeral fancies, and his *amours* of an ancillary description. Be that as it may.

On the subject of Piontkowski M. Masson has published

¹ See Appendix B.

some fifty pages or more in the opening chapter of vol. i. of *Autour de Ste. Hélène*, and mostly in vol. ii. Whilst the reader is tickled by the sly hits and the sardonic innuendoes the article abounds in, he cannot but deprecate the *parti-pris* with which it is written, nor fail to perceive how often an ironical question-mark is but the cloak to paucity of fact or penury of argument. M. Masson is bent upon one thing, and one thing only, to fit Piontkowski—round though he may be—squarely into the little niche he has prepared for him in his St. Helena gallery. Striving unconsciously after that cold categorical analysis which stamps French criticism, M. Masson has *à tort et à travers* reduced all Piontkowski's actions, motives and words to just one paramount principle—or lack thereof—and made him wear in season and out of season the badge of 'Adventurer,' just as Gourgaud is the 'Soldier of Fortune,' Montchenu the hidebound 'Old *Emigré*,' and Antommarchi the 'Corsican boaster.' All that tends superficially to lend colour to his view M. Masson adopts without question or research, whilst all that counters it is either glossed over or overlooked altogether. To be precise, M. Masson commits five cardinal faults, which each and all detract from the historical value of his chapter, or that portion of it at least which deals with our St. Helena period. Firstly, he, *more suo*, neglects our Records and Manuscripts. Rich though the French and Russian Archives may be in documents of the Captivity, I venture to think that the materials at the British Museum and at Chancery Lane (not to mention three or four private Collections) are of much greater importance. Not only is M. Masson unacquainted with the *Letters* and with various telling pieces in the Wilson Papers, but he has rested content with the digest of the Lowe Papers given by Forsyth, with the result

that his original Piontkowski items are reduced to a minimum.

Secondly, he unfairly saddles Piontkowski in person with everything that his Biographer states ; so much so, indeed, that his usual formula is '*Piontkowski raconte que,*' etc., and then follows some flamboyant narrative, which the Pole himself never wrote or dictated, and which is usually at variance with the account given in the *Letters*, let alone with the truth as established by official documents. The Biography was written some years after Piontkowski's death by a man who probably never set eyes upon him, and must have gleaned his *data* at second or third, or even fourth or fifth hand. Who knows in what hyperbolical alembic of *gloriole* and gossip-mongering the information may not have been distilled before reaching Cabany ? Let a man's actions, or opinions, or motives—hardest of all—be judged from his autobiography, if you will, though even then there's the 'gallery' to deduct. But if that man is to be called posthumously to account for all the fatuities and aberrations of his Biographer, that indeed will be 'adding a new terror to death' ! I need not labour the point. In dealing with Piontkowski I personally have looked upon Cabany's well-meaning rigmarole, *qua* document, as *non-exécuté*.

Thirdly, M. Masson, for Piontkowski's sojourn on the Rock, derives his information almost entirely from Gourgaud, and Gourgaud in that respect is no more trustworthy than the others. We have seen already that the Master of the Horse was none too prone to show the Equerry in a favourable light, and some of the statements he makes are quite haphazard and inaccurate, as will appear presently.

Fourthly, M. Masson, after his wont once more, gives no references. It will hardly be believed that, though

quotations from the Biography form about fifty per cent. of his article, he never once gives us the name of its writer or the *locus classicus* of the masterpiece in question. In fact, had it not been for the kindness of Professor Dr. Schramm-Macdonald, of Dresden, whom I traced through Oettinger's *Moniteur des Dates* (the only biographical dictionary in any language which so much as mentions Piontkowski), I should to this day have remained in ignorance of Cabany—be it confessed, no very great deprivation.

Lastly, M. Masson, whilst making a great show of dates, rarely troubles to verify them.¹ So often does he go astray that one may be pardoned for wondering if his slap-dash figures may not haply be set off by slap-dash 'facts.'

I do not purpose to go through M. Masson's article paragraph by paragraph or examine his statements *seriatim*, though there is a temptation to do so. I will take a dozen or so typical instances, and see how Piontkowski comports himself under the scalpel of his detractor's steely irony, and how mostly he recovers thanks to the beneficent balsam of Truth.

We have seen already that one of the two chief episodes in Piontkowski's stay at St. Helena was the affair of the April Declaration. I have dealt fully with it; given all dates and references, and shown how it led to his removal

¹ E.g.: Vol. i., p. 15, '18' for '23' (strictly, the letter was undated, but it was sent on the 23rd); p. 17, '31' for '18', '12' for '15'; p. 25, '31' for '30', '17' for '22'; p. 35, '3' for '2'; p. 39, '6' for '1.' Vol. ii., p. 122, '4 June, 1813' for 'Spring, 1812'; p. 123, '12' for '16'; p. 129, 'Deux' for 'Quatre'; p. 112, '30' for '27'; p. 171, '1829' for '1828'; p. 172, 'deux années' for 'neuf mois,' etc. Errors of names or figures (not dates) I need not linger over: the *Ballerophon* never went to Spithead with Gourgaud (i. 88); Henry was not Assistant-Surgeon of the 53rd (ii. 67 and 68); Cockburn was not 'Sir Joseph' (ii. 26), and so forth.

in October, as he asserts in the *Letters*. M. Masson has only the version given in the Biography to go by; he is pleased to look upon that narrative as a tissue of pretence on Piontkowski's part (of course!), and dramatically exclaims that 'the whole fabric deserves to be pulled to pieces.'¹ It would, indeed, were it a fabrication to boot. But it so happens that for the nonce Cabany is quite accurate and in perfect accord with the *Letters* and with all matters of fact, though falling into a trivial nominal error or two. 'Forsyth,' says Mr. Masson, 'prints the Declarations of Las Cases, Gourgaud, Bertrand, and Montholon. He does not print Piontkowski's. Nowhere is there any question of such.' *Ergo*, assumes M. Masson, there was probably no Declaration, and Piontkowski must be lying!

'And for this caas ben alle crowes blake!'

But even if there was a Declaration, M. Masson submits, it could not have influenced the removal, and he proceeds to argue thus:

'Lord Bathurst replied [to Lowe's despatch concerning the April Declarations] with an order to exact from the Followers their signature pure and simple to the original form drawn up by the Government. If this despatch reached St. Helena by the *Eurydice*, which brought the instruction, dated June 26th, to remove Piontkowski [it did], it must have been of a later date, most likely of 17th July [really July 9th]. Hence Lowe had no occasion to ask Piontkowski for *his* signature; he had merely to carry out Bathurst's order and deport him. His Declaration, which Piontkowski himself [*i.e.*, Cabany] dates 18th April, could have had absolutely no connection with his removal, which had been decided upon in

¹ ii. 145.

London on June 26th ; and the new Declaration required by Lord Bathurst was signed only on October 15th at St. Helena. Hence, there is on the part of Piontkowski a wilful confusion established between the two Declarations ; that of April, which he *may* have shared in, and which led to no one's removal, and that of October, which he had no occasion to take part in, the non-signing of which in other terms than those officially prescribed would have led to deportation.¹

The last sentence is not clear. The writer means 'the *signing* of which' ; for 'non-signing in other terms than those prescribed' is tantamount to signing in the original terms—the official *desideratum*. But that is a trifle. The point is this 'wilful confusion.' There is *no* wilful confusion on Piontkowski's, or even Cabany's, part. The only confusion, wilful or otherwise, is in M. Masson's own mind ; for he deliberately shuts his eyes to the Biographer's clear statement that the Pole's removal was directly due to the April Declaration which he prints (two versions, of the 18th and 19th). There is no mention whatever of any *October* Declaration, signed or not signed by Piontkowski, or anybody else, and M. Masson is simply setting up a puppet for the purpose of bowling it over ! (Incidentally had there been a dozen Declarations presented for signature on October 13 and 15, whatever course of action Piontkowski pursued would, to his own knowledge, have not mattered one jot, for ten days or so before he had heard of his irrevocable fate.) Why M. Masson should commit this irrelevancy passes comprehension. Possibly he is genuinely puzzled by the question of the two dates he gives, April 18 and June 26. How long does he suppose a frigate took to reach England ? Three months ? He ought to know

¹ ii. 147.

better. I'm sure he does know better; but in order to bolster up his little theory—*viz.*, that Piontkowski boastfully claimed greater devotion to Napoleon than the other Followers by a supposed assertion that *he* alone refused to sign the October Declaration (or signed an extremely virulent one) and *so* got deported—he doubtless has the *Havannah* proceed home *via* the Cape, the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea and wait for the advent of de Lesseps at Suez! By way of rider to the foregoing charge, M. Masson adds, 'as the Emperor had not mixed himself up with any of his Followers' Declarations,' how can we believe that he should have had anything to do with Piontkowski's—if there was one—as the latter's Biographer implies? As a fact, Napoleon did concern himself with the April Declarations, and Gourgaud for one states that he altered his in consequence.¹ If I know anything of Piontkowski's style in French, I have no hesitation in asserting that his Declaration bears traces of the Imperial correction—the *Letters* even say 'dictation.' That phrase in apposition, 'bienfait dont on est privé les trois quarts du temps,' was never his own, and the next expression, 'mettra un terme prompt à la vie de l'Empereur,' takes one unconsciously to Napoleon's own words about the climate in his farewell letter to Las Cases of December 11, 1816: 'Mettront, je le sens, un terme prompt à cette existence.' Howbeit, these dialectic trivialities are not worth labouring, even on M. Masson's account.

The latter's next indictment² regards the *livret*, or certificate, which we have seen was given to Piontkowski on his leaving St. Helena. According to Gourgaud, who misdates it 19th *September*,³ one year's pay was stipulated; and M. Masson finds Cabany saying (or, as he puts it,

¹ *Journal*, i. 164.

² ii. 147.

³ *Journal*, ii. 512.

'Piontkowski announcing') that *two* years could be claimed, *plus* a pension, and that *Napoleon himself* wrote that particular paper. I refer the reader to Appendix A, No. 5. The document was plainly from the hand of Bertrand; two years' pay was granted, and there is no mention of a pension. As for any falsification—if *that* were ever imputed to Piontkowski—one would require something very much less casual than an entry in the *Journal*, in appendix or otherwise, to support such a charge. As Gourgaud also quotes Bertrand's farewell testimonial (Appendix A, No. 4) and gives to that very formal document the strangely familiar superscript 'Mon cher Piontkowski,'¹ one is still further inclined to call into question the accuracy, or the adequacy (as in the case of the 'boîte à thé' aforementioned, which M. Masson also refers to ironically²) of *any* entry made by the splenetic Master of the Horse respecting the hapless Equerry! Which takes us straight to the incident of February 5, 1816. As it throws a light, firstly, upon the state of 'nerves' at St. Helena and, secondly, upon Gourgaud's contempt for the sequence of events, I may be pardoned a few details. On that day, the Diarist informs us,³ 'Piontkowski announced'—quite in the Christmas carol strain—'that there were five ships in sight, Dutchmen by report. The Camp turned out. Finally the matter resolved itself into *one* whaler, which had not replied to the challenge gun of the Brig on the Station.' This version M. Masson adopts unquestioningly, and, adding that Piontkowski invariably exaggerates the news he picks up, leaves us under the impression that all the martial excitement aforesaid was directly due to the Captain's disregard of the truth. What were the facts? The morn broke dull and rainy—the worst

¹ *Journal*, i. 253.² *ii.* 140.³ *Journal*, i. 134.

atmospheric condition for the observation of ships, especially to a landsman. There were at that precise period at St. Helena, in the way of Navy, the Flagship and a store-ship, permanently at anchor just off the town, and thus familiar objects to all and sundry, and four other men-of-war, and four only, the *Zenobia*, *Ferret*, *Leveret*, and *Icarus*.¹ These were either riding at single anchor or gently tacking to and fro, watching the island from various points some four or five miles off, and, given the coast-line, were in all likelihood invisible from the Parade or from Deadwood for days at a time. Of the four, the *Leveret* (Captain Theed) was acting as the 'Windward Cruiser' and was that morning three minutes of latitude north-east of James' Bay. The incident is thus described in her Log: 'Feb. 5, 1816. At daylight observed a stranger S.W. by W.; made sail in chase. At 5.30 hoisted the ensign and pendant and fired a gun. Observed stranger set studding-sails and fired several shot to bring her to, but to no effect; fired shot to the number of 15. At 7 she was brought to by the Battery at Sugar-loaf Point, shortened sail and hove to. On the Master's coming on board, required his reasons for not bringing to before. His excuse was that he doubted our being a friend. On being told that he would be made to answer for his conduct, and that it was a pity the shot did not strike him, he replied that if they had he would have returned the fire, and treated the Captain with great disrespect. Found her to be [the South Sea whaler *Thames*] from the Gallipago Islands, bound to London laden with oil.' [On the 6th a similar incident occurred with an American trader.]

So you see, the commotion began at 5.30 a.m., half an hour before the removal of the night sentries, when Piont-

¹ See Appendix B.

kowski was doubtless still sound asleep ; and it lasted an hour and a half. By the time he was up and about, the whole place must have been agog, from the batteries downwards. He would interrogate *le premier venu*. If he was told there were ' five Dutch ships,' small wonder he repeated the information, as Gourgaud or another would have done. If—what probably happened—he himself proceeded towards the Flagstaff, and from there saw five ships and said so, why doubt his word ? The five, I submit, were the adventurous whaler, the *Leveret* alongside, and the *Zenobia*, *Ferret*, and *Icarus*, which had hurried to the spot from round the corner at that most unusual cannonade. They made all sail for *far* less at St. Helena, where anything out of the common was a cause of alarm [*cf.* ' At half-past nine this evening we were much alarmed by the firing of guns. . . . It proved to be a sham fight between two men-of-war.' *Nicholls' Journal* (L.P., 20,210, f. 6)]. Those five vessels would all be unfamiliar to the Pole, and might be mistaken for Dutch, or Russian, or Swedish, or aught else ; and there is similarity of sound between ' Londres ' (to which the whaler belonged) and ' Hollandais,' in an excited Anglo-French snatch of conversation at the Gate. The above explanation is more than plausible, and it is not Piontkowski, but Gourgaud, who comes out of it the worse. Incidentally, the latter's Editors give us, for a very transparent purpose, a gratuitous footnote stating that it was the *Podargus* that fired upon the whaler. As Captain Wallis's sloop was then at her moorings in the Hamoaze, the shot they credit her with must have been even longer than their own !

Let us glance quickly at a few other small points M. Masson makes. He smiles satirically¹ at the ' loss

¹ ii. 123.

of a portmanteau at Cannes,' whereby Piontkowski states he was deprived of certain papers. Why jib at this and swallow a similar and greater loss he experienced at Genoa in 1817 ?¹ Baggage, ere now, has gone astray—especially on the Riviera—in far less dramatic circumstances than the landing of 600 men² to reconquer a throne ! And when we remember that the Poles on that occasion had to carry their saddles and bridles and march with the grenadiers, all other *impedimenta* become very much the playthings of the train-followers.

On page 127 we read ' He [Piontkowski] has related that being on the *Bellerophon* (Maitland formally states that he was on the cutter), he was particularly distinguished by the Duke of Devonshire, etc.' ' He ' has related nothing of the sort in the *Letters* written in 1817. What Cabany may or may not have varnished his tale with some thirty-five years later is of precious little consequence. As for the two vessels, we have seen that Piontkowski went on both. On page 135 we are told that the Pole received a letter from his wife, and that ' he would not show it to Montholon who asked for it.' Why should he ? There was no love lost between the Captain and the Generals that he should give them his letters to read. He offered it to the Emperor, who declined to peruse it ; and that was enough. According to Gourgaud, the incident closed with the ' talking-to ' he administered his subordinate.³ Seeing the way Gourgaud repeatedly ' talked ' to the Emperor himself, it is more than probable that the Equerry came in for a good many curses and expletives, deserved or undeserved, more often the latter ! On the same page, the supposed threat to

¹ ii. 160.

² Napoleon's own figure in the *Moniteur* of March 23, 1815. Needless to say, it was more like twice that number.

³ *Journal*, i. 193.

horsewhip Reade is referred to. This I have explained already.

We have seen from official documents, and shall see again presently from his letter to Bathurst, that Piontkowski was well treated at the Cape and that nothing occurred during the short time he was there. His Biographer has some ridiculous stories to tell, which lead one to infer that he must have mixed up Las Cases' deportation with that of the Pole, and added a few touches from some big-game hunter's recollections. This M. Masson¹ sets against some *racontars* of Gourgaud's hardly less absurd or less improbable,² and once again drags Sir Thomas Reade in for his castigation. [Incidentally, Reade was not Lieutenant-Governor of St. Helena.] And where does Gourgaud get this gossip from? What is the catenation? He gets it from Lieutenant FitzGerald, the latter from the officers of the 53rd (one or two, or perhaps three or four *en chaîne*); they get it from the officers of the newly-arrived *Orontes* (*ibid.*, *ibid.*); and these from the officers of Somerset's staff at the Cape (*ibid.*, *ibid.*), supposing it is not even from some Simon's Bay *quidnunc* or other. At the very least at fifth or sixth hand, possibly at twentieth. When you remember that 'what she said is not evidence,' what three several sets of officers have passed on, with likely enough a few civilians to help them, is still farther removed from the direct, the circumstantial, or even the presumptive! Gourgaud, and after him M. Masson, registers presently³ a few more wind-borne stories of Piontkowski's doings in London which this time are brought by casual merchant skippers, and retailed by that arch-news-broker of Longwood, Cipriani. A word about them will not be amiss *in loco*.

¹ ii. 148.

² *Journal*, i. 273, and i. 335.

³ *Ibid.*, ii. 95, 101, 104.

Lastly, there's that dialogue at the Skeltons' luncheon, where Cockburn requests Piontkowski to relate his campaigns. Gourgaud intervenes and wishes to know if the Pole fought in Russia. 'What,' says Cockburn in astonishment, 'did you never see Piontkowski in the Army?' 'Never,' replies Gourgaud, and he proceeds to put certain questions to the Captain about the siege of Smolensk, which the latter, who says he was present, answers very unsatisfactorily.¹ Well, proof or disproof is equally difficult. We only have Gourgaud's interested version: we should like Piontkowski's, or anybody else's. The Admiral's remark strikes one as apocryphal: he was a calm and reflective man, and the last in the world to put silly questions. Given the forces engaged in Russia, the wonder would have been if Gourgaud, then Captain of Artillery, Orderly Officer to Napoleon and Baron of the Empire, *had* met the modest cavalry subaltern 'in the Army'! But let us grant for the nonce, and if only to humour M. Masson, that Piontkowski did draw the Longwood bow just a wee bit about his prowess in the field? Great Heavens! was he the only archer of the sort on the island? I think not. If he did embroider a little now and then, it was on the spur of the moment, genially, *à la Tartarin*, to make the story more entrancing: there was not that repellent self-complacency which distinguished all the others. *He* never bared a ferruginous falchion and pointed to the gore of a Cossack, like the Baron! *He* vaingloried not in the four thousand daughters of Albion had succumbed to his instance, like Montchenu! *He* laid no pompous claim to psychological insight, to say such monstrous things of Napoleon as this one of Lowe's: 'All his arguments and notions seem based upon the worst possible opinion of human nature. . . .

¹ *Journal*, i. 119.

There is a region beyond [the evil one he sees], and it is the region of *good*; and *that* he can never discern !'¹ No ; Piontkowski was only human, and had his motley faults ; but Gourgaud should be the last to cast a stone at him. For there is one cumulation of offence can never be laid at his door. He did *not* deal treacherously by the man who had made him, whose exile he had shared. He did *not* curry favour with the English by lying 'revelations.' He did *not* advise Goulburn as to the best *surveillance* of the Captive. Various be the feelings wherewith one may consider Piontkowski—interest or indifference, amusement or incredulity, pity or toleration, regard or dislike—but ineffable scorn can never be one of them.

Let us have no more of 'Gourgaud on Piontkowski.' It is in its way as gratuitous as Warburton on Shakspeare !²

¹ L.P., 20,216, f. 233v.

² Though a 'Gourgaud Appendix' seems the thing with writers upon the Last Phase, I will not venture upon yet another, but will limit myself to one unpublished item of undoubted importance and interest—Gourgaud's letter to Madame de Montholon upon her return to Europe. The fantastic and untenable theory of the Editors of the *Journal* that the Montholon-Gourgaud quarrel was unreal and merely 'put on' to deceive the English and carry out a 'mission' has been sufficiently exploded by M. Masson (*Le Cas du Général Gourgaud*) and MM. Gonnard and Frémeaux have added to the demolition. The inferences drawn and arguments adduced by these Editors are at times puerile, and upon this particular point I illustrate their silence is more significant than any sophistry could have been. They give us—with several errors, be it said—Gourgaud's letter to 'an English General,' dated Hamburg, September 19, 1819, in which he expresses his anxiety to offer his services to Madame de Montholon, who has just arrived in England (ii. 549). The General, of course, was Wilson (not *Flahaut*, as M. Masson supposes—i. 57), and the letter is found in his Papers (Add. MSS., 30,109, f. 43). What they do not give us—perhaps because undiscovered or perhaps as damaging to their case—is Gourgaud's further letter to Wilson of December 1, 1819, and his letter to Madame de Montholon at Brussels, thereto annexed. Had the quarrel been a comedy

A man and his wife being one, I shall not violate the unities by adverting for a while to Madame Piontkowska. Badly as M. Masson pinks the husband, still worse does he lancinate the spouse. Like the *galant homme* that he is, he makes mere galantine of the lady! Listen:—

'Where, when, and how Piontkowski met her is a mystery. Anyhow, he did not profit much by his marriage and he left Madame Piontkowska [on his departure for

or a mere ephemeral *brouille*, the mask or the attitude would have been dropped as soon as the two participants had thrown off the St. Helena and Colonial Office influence and atmosphere—that is, as soon as both Gourgaud and Madame de Montholon (whom he 'hated' and abused even more than her husband) were settled on the Continent and had severed all English ties, barring precisely this one with Wilson, who, as a rabid antagonist of the Ministry and of the Lowe faction and a befriender in turn of all the repatriated Exiles, was the very last man before whom the 'fiction' needed to be maintained or a letter to be 'cooked' in the copy. Yet this is what Gourgaud writes to the lady, and it breathes sincerity—*du plus pur Gourgaud*, with its venom quaintly dashed with chivalry, and its heart's yearnings after Napoleon, young Montholon, and the Deity equally divided. I give it in the original:

'HAMBOURG,

'Le 4 Octobre, 1819.

'MADAME,—J'apprends par les Gazettes que vous êtes à Bruxelles et je m'empresse de vous écrire pour vous prier de me donner des nouvelles de la santé de l'Empereur et de nos compagnons d'infortune de Long Wood. Quelle que malheureuse que soit ma situation présente, quels que grands que soient les reproches que je serois en droit de vous faire, je ne vous en parlerai pas ici, Madame; il est des circonstances où les âmes généreuses doivent comprimer les sentimens de haine dont elles peuvent être pénétrées pour faire place à des sentimens plus nobles et plus élevés. Nous sommes dans de telles circonstances. Sans nous aimer nous pouvons donc n'en être pas moins unis. Ainsi, Madame, si malgré ma misère, je puis vous être utile, comptez absolument sur moi, et disposez de moi comme de votre ami le plus dévoué. Bien des personnes qu'aux tems de ses prospérités l'Empereur a comblé de fortune et d'honneurs l'ont entièrement oublié maintenant; mais moi, Madame, je n'ai oublié que ses injustices et me souviendrai toujours de ses bienfaits. Je me tais. Adieu, Madame, embrassez bien vos enfans de

St. Helena] "under the protection of an Englishman, Mr. Capel Lofft, who promised to take her to France." . . . In March, 1816, she undertook a trip to France, and accompanied by Mr. Capel Lofft, she landed at Calais. There she was recognized as having come in March, 1815, with the same Englishman. Perhaps we should remember that Capel is the patronymic of the Earls of Essex.¹

ma part, et surtout mon petit Tristan : et pensez qu'un jour c'est vous-même qui vous reprocherez tout le mal que vous m'avez fait. J'ai l'honneur, etc. (signé) LE GAL. GOURGAUD.

'P.S.—Je partirai d'ici dans les premiers jours de Novembre (*sic*). Je ne sais pas où j'irai, mais Dieu ne m'abandonnera pas. Faites-moi savoir, je vous en prie, si cette lettre vous est parvenue en m'écrivant à Mr. le Gal. Gourgaud sous le couvert de Mr. Jénisch [*Jänisch*, see p. 66]. Vous concevez mon impatience à recevoir de vos nouvelles' (Add. MSS., 30,109, f. 68).

'This Letter' (which says not a word of a 'mission'), writes Gourgaud, 'I am certain has reached Madame de Montholon,' who, it is significant, up to December 1 had vouchsafed no reply—probably out of disgust with Gourgaud's remarkable way of 'remembering the Emperor's benefactions'!—and the writer asks Wilson, 'Is one *always* deceived in being kind to the evil-minded?' adding ominously, 'I hope the Husband will return some day and give me a more precise answer. Patience therefore!' (*Ibid.*, f. 67).

I had intended quoting Gourgaud's letter to Lowe dated London, June 20, 1818 ['I have received a letter from him. He writes in very desponding style'—Lowe to Goulburn, L.P., 20,124, f. 402], but find M. Gonnard has given it in his Appendix (Eng. ed., p. 229). One sentence, however, he suppresses, and as it might to some be the most humanly interesting of all, I supply it: 'Je vis, ou plutôt je végète, ici de la manière la plus retirée; j'ai le cœur trop aigri pour chercher à fréquenter le monde: heureux si je pouvois tout oublier et être oublié de tous. Si même mon séjour ici doit se prolonger longtemps, j'ai intention de changer de nom, afin de me tirer d'affaire comme je pourrai' (L.P., 20,204, f. 52). That change of name was apparently in vogue amongst the Emperor's friends in their wanderings, *cf.* 'Je porte à bord de ce vaisseau [*H.M.S. Lapwing*] le nom de Balladour; on ne m'y connoit pas autrement' (Savary to Wilson, June 6, 1819, Add. MSS., 30,109, f. 15). A kind of troubadour, I suppose?

¹ ii. 130.

Again : ' His wife, who is she ? The mistress of some powerful Englishman who wished to insure her a name and status and then got rid of the husband by packing him off to St. Helena ? Howbeit the fortune she made was mediocre for so pretty a woman.'¹

A most delicate insinuation, forsooth ! the ironical innuendo being M. Masson's pet figure of rhetoric. Once again, what are the facts ? Who was Capel Lofft ? As one of the very few Englishmen of his day who proudly bore the designation ' Friend of Napoleon,' M. Masson should know much about him : his ignorance could hardly be greater.

Capel Lofft, at this time nearing his seventieth year—rather *passé* for a Don Juan—was a man of vast and varied parts, whose prodigality of achievement, touched though it was with a certain quixotic amateurishness, should have insured his name against the oblivion that has fallen upon it. He was equally distinguished amongst the great minds of his day as a jurisconsult, an advocate, a poet, an essayist, an orator, an astronomer, a botanist, a musician, a classical scholar, a critic, a bibliophil, an antiquary, a patron of arts and of letters—notably in the case of Bloomfield—an Abolitionist, and a political reformer. It was, I take it, this very versatility, combined perhaps with a slight eccentricity of manner, which debarred him from obtaining that measure of worldly success which was rightly his due, though one might add the facts that—some fiery encounters on the hustings notwithstanding—his fine dilettantism habitually shrank from the tumult and the stour, and that he lived and died a pronounced Whig at a period when Toryism was truculently triumphant. As it was, he was at various

¹ ii. 173.

times pressed to stand for Parliament, and was once offered the post of British Minister at Washington. It is an irony of the sort he himself would have quietly relished that nowadays he 'lives' thanks to two minds much inferior to his own, and is mainly recalled by a few encomiastic entries in Crabb Robinson's Diary and by Boswell's epithet, 'this little David of the popular spirit.'¹

The consuming passion of Capel Lofft's later life was a heartfelt and intelligent admiration of Napoleon.² He

¹ By the kind courtesy of Miss C. Lofft Holden, of Hove, I have had the privilege of examining with some thoroughness the preserved correspondence of her distinguished great-grandfather. Apart from the literary and critical merits of the letters, their social and political sidelights and their many endearing personal touches, the standing of some of the people they are addressed to and the frequent historical references to Napoleon make them of abiding interest. In spite of a dreadful handwriting, which caused the *Morning Chronicle* to take ten days to decipher and publish a long epistle from Capel Lofft and led the reverend recipient of the one I print in Appendix G. to endorse it 'Perlegat qui possit,' I hope at no distant date to be able to extract sufficient material to lay at least the foundations of a monograph, wherein some more eloquent and expert pen than mine might do a tardy justice to the many-sided Englishman, whose splendid activities and engaging personality we have unworthily permitted ourselves to forget.

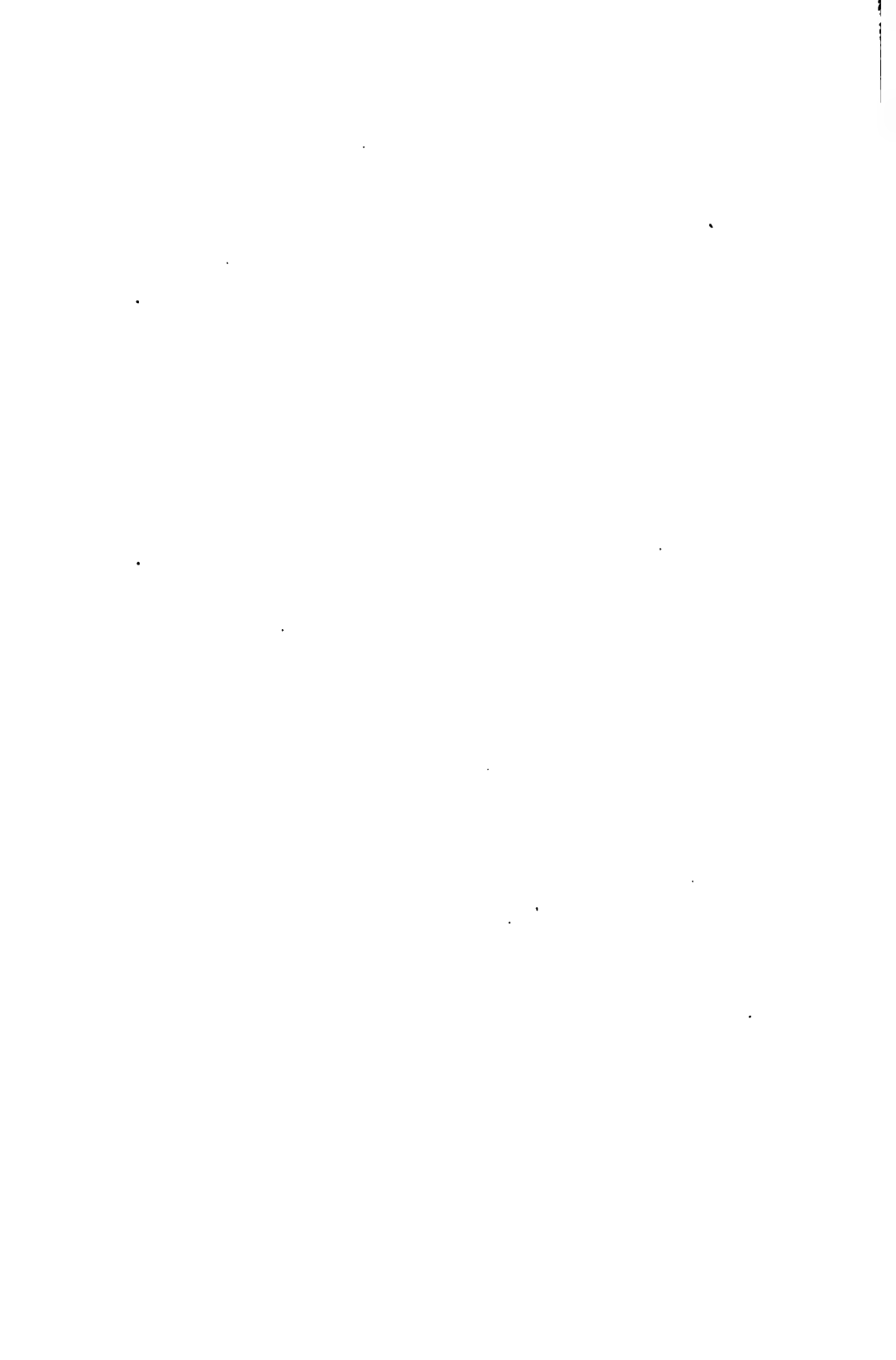
Let me here gratefully acknowledge my additional indebtedness to Miss Lofft Holden for the loan of the originals of two of my illustrations.

² Capel Lofft's tribute to Napoleon after Elba is noteworthy: 'Everything from his quitting of Elba heightens my Respect for and Admiration of this wonderful Man. It was not compatible with this condition of Mortality that, called in very early Youth to the leading Part in a Theatre of Action as vast as it was novel and surrounded with every circumstance that can stimulate the Mind and bring it out of itself, he should not have had great Faults and great Errors intermixt with Qualities and Actions of the most transcendent Excellence. But if he has been subjected to the Influence of much that misleads, he has in a peculiar degree been placed, happily, I trust, for himself, for Europe and for the World, in those Circumstances and under those Impressions which exalt and correct, improve and confirm all the best feeling, and purify the heart of those which are adverse

CAPEL LOFFT.

**From a pastel portrait by Holloway, in the possession
of Miss Loft Holden, of Hove.**





was among the few men on this side of the Channel who were not disqualified either by wilful ignorance, unreasoning prejudice, or distorting terror, from forming a true estimate of the World-Conqueror; who could assess at their right value the reboant slanders¹ which had fastened—at Sir Robert Wilson's instigation, alas!—upon the 'Fugitive from Egypt'; and who could discern in the great Emperor not merely the Victor of a hundred Fights, but the Creator of Order, the Restorer of Religion, the Upraiser of Italy, the Regenerator and Glorificator

to wisdom and to virtue. That he has true Benevolence, a feeling Heart, a most comprehensive and sublime Intellect, and a Genius as suitable to diffuse the Blessings of Peace, and to delight in their diffusion, as to command in War, I see evidence from his language and conduct which will not suffer me to doubt. . . . The 16 latter years of Frederick the Great are more illustrious than all his Victories. And I look for a still greater and happier Result if the Confederate Powers do not suspend the tendency to human improvement and happiness by Revenge' (Letter to Mrs. Cobbold, May 4, 1815).

¹ In Capel Lofft's own words: 'But Epithets of all Abuse and Abhorrence and affected Contempt of this wonderful Man have been echoed in our ears so incessantly; Calumnies have been forged and Facts perverted so unsparingly around every Being related or friendly to him, without any deference to Sex, Youth, Beauty, Conjugal and Maternal feelings, to the Genius and inflexible Firmness of Carnot, to the milder but as firm Virtues of Lanjuinais, to his highly accomplisht and excellent Brother Lucien (revil'd as soon as reconcil'd), to the sublime Fidelity of Bertrand, Drouot, and Duroc; our abandon'd Papers have so industriously kept Truth from us and so malignantly and incessantly propagated Falsehood; that the best and clearest, the most candid and well-inform'd Minds are like the Inhabitants near the Cataracts of the Nile, deafen'd and distracted by the Thunder of the Torrents and blinded by the foam and confusion of the Elements, and see, hear and comprehend hardly anything as it is. It is through such disordered Media that Bonaparte is exhibited to us. My opinion has been formed by long and steady attention to Facts and by the opinion of Men the best qualified to judge, and whose Friendship in Life and Death, Prosperity or Adversity had been fixt to him' (Letter to Mrs. Cobbold, June 23, 1815).

of France (which he loved and toiled for as none ever loved and toiled before or since), the Framer of the Code, the Purifier of Finance, the Deliverer of Slaves, the Destroyer of the Inquisition and of Feudalism, the Tracer of roads and waterways, the Rebuilder of Lyons, the Maker of Cherbourg, of Antwerp, of Brest, the Promoter of Commerce, the Patron of Arts and Sciences, the Fosterer of Education—in short, the omnific Demiurge.¹ Capel Lofft spoke with no uncertain utterance in the opening phrases of the Letter I give in Appendix G.; and if, as they say, the verdict of a foreign nation—were it voiced but by *one* of its enlightened and seerlike sons—is the verdict of Posterity, then Napoleon at St. Helena, as his thoughts flew to the big-souled English jurist, must have seen a great glory gilding the verge of Time, and watched himself pacing herolike, even godlike, down the Ages, when, as he put it quite unnecessarily to Lowe, ‘Bathurst will no longer count.’

When the *Bellerophon* was lying at Plymouth and the Prisoner’s fate hanging in the balance, Capel Lofft, persuaded that a deportation without trial would be an infraction of the Laws of England (31 Car. II. cap. 2, § 12), moved ‘as an independent and constitutional lawyer’ for a writ of Habeas Corpus. In a long letter printed on August 2, 1815, by the *Morning Chronicle* he asserted that ‘Bonaparte with the concurrence of the Admiralty was within the limits of British *local* allegiance; though

¹ ‘Bonaparte is far more than merely a General who, if equalled, has never been excelled. He has given to France laws and a Constitution of a most transcendent excellence and mildness. He has been the great friend of the Arts and cultivator of the Sciences; he has devoted himself to his People as a Father for the life and happiness of his Children’ (Capel Lofft to Mr. Deck, June 27, 1815).

an alien, was a *temporary* subject ; that having touched our shores he was entitled to a trial and to the benefit of our laws.' On the 3rd, he returned to the charge and laid down categorically that the deportation would be a violation of (1) Magna Charta, cap. 29, (2) the Habeas Corpus Act, (3) Bill of Rights, and, in fact, ' of our whole Criminal Law, which permits not transportation unless in cases for which the Statute Law has expressly provided.' On the 4th, the notorious Lewis Goldsmith replied rather lamely to the jurist and tried to establish a precedent. On the 8th, ' A Practising Barrister ' endorsed the protest of ' the venerable Capel Lofft.' On the 10th, the latter drives his arguments still further home and disposes of the ' Bernardi precedent.' On the 11th, there is a diatribe from ' Eunomus ' and a quoted sonnet of Lofft's, ' that venerable friend of liberty ' ; and finally, on the 12th, the ' Practising Barrister ' to all intents and purposes closes the polemic—a hundred letters had poured in—with this pregnant sentence : ' The policy of imprisoning for life a forlorn and abdicated Sovereign by way of security is unquestionable. *It is the policy of cowards !* ' As we know, the Habeas Corpus motion failed of its effect, but meanwhile a certain Mr. McKenrot obtained a subpoena writ from the Court of the King's Bench for the evidence of Napoleon, Jérôme, and Admiral Willaumez in a naval dispute, and had it served on Admiral Duckworth.¹ This was of little avail, and the Court official then pursued Lord Keith without success

¹ *Morning Chronicle*, August 11, 1815. This McKenrot appears, from a letter in the Records, to have supplied the funds for both the subpoena and the Habeas Corpus and also to have advanced money to Madame Piontkowska. The matter is not very clear, and is further obscured by the fact that even the practical joker couldn't keep out of it, for on August 8 there is some reference to a ' hoax ' whereby Duckworth was made the recipient of a ' Habeas Corpus signed by two Judges.'

round the Fleet. This, you remember, was given as a reason for hurrying the sailing of the *Northumberland*. With the latter event Capel Lofft's hopes were dashed to the ground¹; but deeming that the cause of Napoleon might still be served in the persons of his adherents, he turned his attention to Rovigo and Lallemand; and from certain letters in the C.O. Records, as well as from Planat's statement (p. 251), there is every reason to suppose that he influenced through Parliamentary friends the Ministry's decision to deport them, with the other six, to Malta, instead of handing them over to the French Government, as they very much feared their fate would be. The *Eurotas* gone, there remained Piontkowski. I have found no evidence of any intercession on Capel Lofft's part, but, reasoning by analogy, we may fairly assume that the official acquiescence in the Pole's prayer to rejoin the Emperor, which has always remained much of a mystery, may have been due in a measure to Capel Lofft's backing. With the Captain's departure, there was left but one person in any way connected with the Emperor, the four days' bride, to wit. As she was merely the wife of a small 'Follower on spec.,' the relationship, be it confessed, was much *à la mode de Bretagne!* But no matter. Capel Lofft genuinely thought to offer even this distant tribute to the ill-starred Hero, and bestowed a friendship blent

¹ They revived a little, later on, and three years after he was still vainly 'hoping'—but there is the ring of despair about it: 'I do hope that at length a sense will arise how much the Nation dishonours itself by silently acquiescing in the Conduct of Ministers and their Agents towards him who confided himself magnanimously to us, and thought himself worthy, as he was, of Liberty and peaceful Retreat amongst us. The harassing indignities which are so perseveringly continued against him make the much-disputed history of Regulus assume a new (?) degree. A short Petition to the Prince and the two Houses might express a just and, I hope, a general Sentiment' (Letter to Mr. Bounden, May 2, 1818).

with chivalry upon Madame Piontkowska, and did his best to further her one object—to rejoin her husband. The fact that he was devoted to music and that she possessed a magnificent voice, to which he testifies repeatedly in his letters,¹ was an additional bond. After her parting on October 8 with her husband—just for the time being, as she thought—Capel Lofft escorted her to London, and left her in residence with a friend, Madame Héry. She must have found it irksome and written him so in a few weeks, for on his return to his country seat—Troston Hall, inherited with a vast fortune from his Uncle in 1781—Mrs. Lofft, his second wife, *née* Sarah Watson Finch, and herself a poetess, sent off this invitation to the Countess, as she is known henceforward :

‘ TROSTON HALL, NEAR BURY, SUFFOLK.
‘ Nov. 26, 1815.

‘ MADAME,

‘ My Husband has espoused the cause of the Emperor far too deeply for us not to congratulate ourselves upon this opportunity now presenting itself to be of some service to you. He has begun to interest the most likely Members of both Houses in your case, with the object of bringing it to the Prince Regent’s notice. In the meantime, Madame, we pray you will accept our hospitality and the shelter of our house, if you can put up with the monotonous life inseparable from an old country-house.

‘ I hope, Madame, that you will find it a respectable retreat—but that is all; for my Husband has always led a retired and philosophical life, and since the misfortunes that have afflicted Europe and his own heart,

¹ *E.g.* : ‘ I regret you could not hear her sing it. This time we missed that pleasure ourselves, but she sang with a highly interesting enthusiasm *Le Devoir et l’Honneur*, and another fine French air in honour of the Emperor ’ (Letter to Mrs. Cobbold, August 15, 1817).

he has almost entirely retired from the world. Still, if you find nothing here to amuse, at least you will find nothing to deject. I flatter myself even that if the Count¹ was to choose an asylum for you, it would be just such a one as this. I beg you will convey to Madame Héry our greetings and our sincere desire to see her too. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect for yourself and for your cause, your very obedient servant,

'(Signed) S. W. LOFFT.²

Coming as it does from one of their order, the above epistle would pass, I fancy, a whole *posse* of British Matrons; and even on the Massonic principle, at its most free, were one puzzled to read anything not entirely 'on the square' into it! That Madame Piontkowska accepted the invitation—with or without Madame Héry—is proved

¹ This is the first time Piontkowski figures as a 'Count,' and the only occasion in 1815 or 1816. Significantly, it is no direct claim, but reaches us through two ladies. He personally never subscribes or writes of himself as such; and there is no reference, serious or even ironical, to a Countship in any St. Helena document. Failing all family papers, it is impossible to prove either that he *was* or was *not* noble by birth. Dropping his military rank, as he did, for the avowed purpose of serving Napoleon at Elba and St. Helena in any capacity whatever, even menial, it is only natural to suppose that he would have been even more prone to lay aside any nobiliary distinction he might possess, subject perhaps to a revival thereof on, let us say, his marriage to a socially ambitious woman. That he was never *made* a Count is certain. If the thing was an assumption, then 'the woman did it,' and that during her husband's absence from England; and on his return he weakly acquiesced in the *fait accompli*. Castlereagh, writing to Goulburn in April, 1817, refers to 'your friend the Polish Count.' So does Balcombe, when in England, in 1818 and 1819. Years later, in 1830, after his wife's death, he figures in the Genevese archives simply as 'ex-colonel in the Polish Army.' No title is claimed or given. Anyhow the point is hardly worth labouring, as it has no bearing upon his life at St. Helena or even upon the broad lines of his existence thereafter.

² L.P., 20, 158, f. 2.

by a passage in a letter of Capel Lofft to Mr. Bounden of the Philomathic Society, under the date March 10, 1817, in which he says that the first thing Piontkowski did on his return to England was to thank him and Mrs. Lofft for their 'Reception of his Lady'; which shows he had not forgotten his manners, even with Reade and Lowe. How long the guest remained at Troston it is impossible to say with absolute precision—doubtless over the Christmas festivities. Then she returned to London in January, 1816, and went to Sir Francis Burdett's—who, though a Whig, was a gentleman—and must have stayed there a few weeks : time enough, at least, to make the address worth while transmitting to her husband, for you recall that in his interview with Nagle in September he asks him to find out in London if his wife 'is still at Sir Francis Burdett's.' In all likelihood it was at the house of the Member for Westminster that she met Sir Robert Wilson, later on after his imprisonment, and gave him the opportunity to display that interest in her main aspiration which her husband acknowledges gratefully in the *Letters*. Then, on February 16, she took apartments at 2, Duncan Place, Leicester Square, in the house of a Mr. Smith, to whom she gave Bunbury as reference. As she was already in money straits—Piontkowski, of course, could not provide for her ; she had no friends in London on a cruminal footing ; and Bathurst hardly felt justified in keeping *her* out of the original £8,000 a year—Smith verified the reference as early as March 2.¹ The reply must have lulled any suspicion he may have had, for she stayed on till the middle of April. M. Masson, as we have seen, places her and Capel Lofft at Calais in 'March, 1816.' One would like his authority. She may have gone, of course ; but as she was so ill

¹ C.O., 247. 7.

during the month that her maid, V. Sobré by name, writes a piteous letter to Bunbury about her,¹ and as Capel Lofft was at Bury and travelling was not what it is to-day, the whole thing seems doubtful. If the visit was paid, it must have been a very flying one indeed. Incidentally, we are assured that 'the police commissary declined to let the Countess remain on French soil, and as Capel Lofft *faisait l'insolent*, he, too, had to go back with the lady' (ii. 130). The notion of a man of Capel Lofft's years and position 'doing the insolent' to a glorified French constable is exquisite! Madame Piontowska's next move was to a French boarding-house at 53, Frith Street, Soho Square, where Romilly had first imbibed Whiggism with his mother's milk, and where the notorious Swiss, Fauche-Borel, hatched his last Royalist plots. Here she resided till the end of the year, and from there plied Bathurst with a whole series of petitions, all preserved in the Records, wherein she urges in a pathetic crescendo of postulation her heart's desire to rejoin her husband at St. Helena.² One passage—October 14—typical of the whole, will suffice: 'In this perplexity, I submit, my Lord, that because I am devotedly attached to my Husband and because of the dangers to which I am exposed, I cannot live without him, and all my desire is to share his lot, whatever it may be, I beg you will give orders to bring about this reunion.' Though Bathurst granted her an interview with his secretary (and much good it did her!), the flippancy of his treatment of her does him discredit. Throughout he never gives her a simple truthful answer to her anxious inquiries as to the fate of her husband. Instead of plainly stating that *he* had ordered Piontowski's removal from St. Helena on June 26, he puts

¹ C.O., 247. 7.

² *Ibid.*, and C.O., 247. 11.

her off repeatedly with 'he *may* have left the Island,' or 'he *may* be at the Cape,' or 'he *may* have proceeded to America,' or 'he *may* be on his way to Europe,' etc., etc. The least one can say is that it was unkind. But it was part of the 'ennobled dullardry'; for in 1817 we find him doing the same thing in the case of Madame Las Cases, whose letters form a parallel series in the Records.¹ There is not much to choose between the effusions of the two ladies. Madame Piontkowska's have rather more question-marks, and Madame Las Cases' rather more misspellings. [One mildly wonders at the spouse of the famous 'M. Lesage de l'Atlas,' *née* de Kergariou, writing 'ottorise' for 'autorise' and 'interrois' for 'intérêt.'] From Frith Street the lonesome wife not only sent news of herself to St. Helena, but also called upon the Skeltons on their arrival in England, and so obtained first-hand information as to the welfare, or otherwise, of the Captain. Mrs. Skelton writes as follows to Las Cases on October 5: ' . . . I have just seen Madame Piontkowski (*sic*), who is still making every effort to join her Husband. Her friends have advised, and I believe she is now decided on availing herself, if not prevented, of the first opportunity of going by the Cape.'² By the same mail Mrs. Skelton wrote also to Madame Bertrand: ' . . . I was agreeably surprised by a visit from Madame Piontkowski. Her promptitude in tracing us the very day we quitted the Hotel in St. James' Street saved me a great deal of trouble in the inquiries we intended making for her, and proves her anxiety to obtain some information respecting her Husband, from whom she has never heard, neither, I believe, have any of the numerous letters she has written him been received. She is in a French Boarding-House in Frith Street, Soho Square, an

¹ C.O., 247. 11.² L.P., 20,204, f. 19.

exile from France and without friends in England, waiting only for permission to join her Husband, who she is always told is on his way home ; which, I think, must be a mistake, and of which she is so much convinced that she means, I believe, to apply again to Lord Bathurst and to go even by the circuitous route of the Cape, if she can obtain permission.¹ (The writer apparently contradicts herself in talking first of Madame Piontkowska's 'friends' and then of her being 'without friends.' Presumably in the latter case she means, idiomatically, 'relatives.') All entreaties were in vain, and though she got various people to intercede for her, like General Hammond on August 4 and Beckett of the Alien Office on the 28th,² Bathurst's petitioner was no nearer her goal at Christmas, what time she heard officially that Piontkowski had left St. Helena, and assumed he was on his way back to England. She removed at the end of December to 15, Duke Street, Grosvenor Square, and there awaited the return. Her last letter is dated February 19, 1817, and expresses to Goulburn her desire to join her husband at Portsmouth with the least delay.³ As a matter of fact, it was he who rejoined her in London and took her to Soho ; there to forget awhile the past year's adversity, whose sweetest use perhaps was, in days to come, to vouch for her wifely virtue. But I anticipate.

Thus, I fancy, we can account satisfactorily for Madame Piontkowska's whereabouts during her husband's absence. Firstly, Madame Héry's, then the Loffts', next Burdett's, then a modest existence with one maid at Duncan Place, Frith Street, and Duke Street in succession. Might every grass widow give so clear an account of her late movements when her lord and master comes clattering home from abroad !

¹ L.P., 20, 117, f. 41.

² C.O., 247. 7.

³ C.O., 247. 11.

En passant, M. Masson's aside doth much arride one :
 ' Perhaps we should remember that Capel is the family
 name of the Earls of Essex.' Just so ; those wicked lords
 once more, and once again that ' little learning ' ! Capel
 is here a Christian name, of course, but *peu importe* !

' A woman, a dog, and a walnut-tree,
 The more you beat 'em, the better they be !'

And *any* stick is good enough to beat a woman with to
 improve her . . . memory ! I wot there were scions of
 the Capel tree whose blood ran hot i' the veins ! And—
 to ape the strain—' perhaps we should remember ' that
 Essex is an eastern county ; and from the East aforetime
 proceeded all myth and vain imagining ; and peradventure
 a grain thereof hath dropped and fouled the limpid
 fount of M. Masson's historical illation. *Et patati ! Et
 patata ! . . .* Is it, I ask you, by means of such *raté*
 coincidence as the above that, in default of facts, a man's
 character is hinted away and a woman's good name ?
That is not lettered criticism. It is ' not cricket ' even.
 Or, at most, French cricket !

The *Orontes* reached Spithead on February 15, 1817,
 where she found Plampin's Flagship, the *Conqueror*, on
 the eve of her departure for the Cape and St. Helena.¹
 Captain Cochrane had time to impart to his *confrère*
 Davie all the facts and the fictions of the Captivity down
 to date. In the light of all those future ' surveys,' it is
 a pity he did not advise him to look more closely into his
 stores before sailing.² What Cochrane and his sub-
 ordinates managed to elicit from Piontkowski on the
 journey did not amount to much : just enough to aliment
 yet another middy's mania for print in a Portsmouth
 journal. In accordance with Somerset's instructions, the

¹ See Logs, Appendix C.

² Appendix D.

four repatriated Foreigners were not to be allowed to land until Bathurst's wishes in regard to them had been made known. They themselves lost no time in speeding his decision. On the day of arrival Piontkowski wrote as follows to the Secretary of State :

‘ *Orontes*,
‘ Feb. 15, 1817.

‘ MONSIEUR LE COMTE,

“ I should indeed be devoid of feeling if I failed to be infinitely touched by the good-will your Excellency has shown towards me. The conspicuous kindness (*l’honnêteté distinguée*) with which I have been treated on English men-of-war and at St. Helena during the time Admiral Cockburn was in charge, as well as at the Cape of Good Hope, in all matters of accommodation and of keep, shows that the instructions sent out, as affecting my own person, were dictated by magnanimity, consideration and generosity. I beg you to believe, my Lord, that I desire nothing better than that a happy change in circumstances should allow me to give free play to the sentiments of gratitude which animate me. It is my intention to proceed to the United States after touching in Italy the funds which I require. May I beg your Excellency to grant me authority to proceed thither and to have passports made out for me ?

Jean Natale Santini, usher of the cabinet, solicits permission to proceed to Italy ; Théodore Rousseau, silver steward, and Olivier Archambault, groom, have chosen the United States for their future domicile.

‘ I have the honour to be, with profound respect, gratitude and submission, of your Excellency the very obedient and obliged humble servant,

‘ PIONTKOWSKI,
‘ Chef d’Escadron.’¹

¹ C.O., 247. 11.

In the above letter the writer appears to protest too much, and some expressions seem touched with cant ; but, as a matter of fact, nothing had occurred to him personally, in the sixteen months which had elapsed, to have him abate from that sentiment of gratitude towards the Ministry with which he had originally quitted England, and which he blurted out in his first interview with the Emperor ; and the telling exception he makes in the second sentence vouches for the sincerity of the first. He firmly believed at the time of writing that Lowe, and Lowe only, was responsible for all the various miseries, the semi-starvation and so forth, he and the others had experienced at St. Helena and for his deportation from thence.¹ It was not till he had been in London some time that he learnt it was the Government which had ordered his removal, and even then he still saddled Lowe in the *Letters*, chiefly through ignorance, but also through *parti-pris*, with much that rightfully belonged to Bathurst. Had Piontkowski been bent upon giving the latter a foretaste of the Gourgaud manner, he would as a mere matter of policy have spared him that pointed and unflattering inference respecting his agent in the Island.

The three servants also wrote from the *Orontes* for passports, Rousseau and Archambault jointly, and Santini on his own account, signing himself rather pompously ' Usciere del Gabinetto, Guardiano del Porta-

¹ Piontkowski shared that opinion with all the other Followers. Later than this, on February 21, 1817, Montholon wrote : ' O'Meara told us that there was a report in the town that the Governor had received despatches of high importance for us, and that he was strongly blamed by his Government for having given cause for our complaints, which had excited public opinion in our favour ' (*Récits*, ii. 87). Again, on March 7 : ' The Commissioners, whom General Gourgaud met in his walk, said that the English Ministers had censured Sir Hudson Lowe, and that there was a question of sending back Sir George Cockburn to St. Helena. The Emperor rejoiced at this news ' (*Ibid.*, p. 95).

foglio.' The four passports, or rather permits to land and proceed to London, were sent by Bathurst on the 17th, and their bearers lost no time in making for the Metropolis.¹ As we have seen, Piontkowski rejoined his long-expectant wife, and took rooms in the house of a Scotsman, Broadfoot by name, at 82, Berwick Street, Soho. Here he assumed, rightly or wrongly, a certain political importance; and as he mingled with the Santini-Maceroni set who, under the supervision of Wilson and with the help of Holland, Burdett, and others, were initiating a Press and parliamentary campaign in favour of Napoleon, he naturally enough became suspect to the Government, and was noted by the police. He himself refrained from publication: the Emperor, the *Letters* tell us, had enjoined silence upon him; and that he kept that silence even where he might well have made an exception is proved by a reference to him in a letter of Capel Lofft to a friend, in March, in which he states almost complainingly that, though Piontkowski writes him on various subjects, yet on this important one of the Emperor's treatment 'he is silent.' Howbeit on his own confession, as we shall see presently, he helped the production of the 'Santini' brochure by supplying Maceroni (who wrote it) with various items: so that on the *quod facit per alium* principle, 'mum' with him was not *altogether* the word! Such 'mumming' as that very soon turned to humming; and on March 10, Holland, in the House of Lords, gave notice of a Motion for the production of 'papers that may serve to make known the treatment of Bonaparte.' On March 12, the *Morning Chronicle* an-

¹ 'The *Orontes*, Cpt. Cochrane, arrived on Saturday afternoon at Portsmouth. She left St. Helena on the 4th *ult.*, having had a good passage of 36 days (*sic*). She has brought to England Col. Ponitowski, the Polish Officer who followed Bonaparte to St. Helena' (*Morning Chronicle*, February 18, 1817).

nounced that 'A Copy of the Memorial presented by Napoleon to Sir Hudson Lowe [Montholon's Letter], on his treatment in the Island of St. Helena, has reached our hands. We shall endeavour to lay a translation of it before our readers to-morrow.' On the 13th, the promise was kept : 'We this day insert the Memorial of Napoleon. . . . It will be published this day by Ridgway both in English and French, from the copy brought from St. Helena by Mons. Santini.' Then follows the Letter—two columns of small print. This copy brought by 'Mons.' Santini, we have seen, was confided and presented after use to Wilson, in whose Papers it now finds a place. When O'Meara, in his *Exposition*, quoting a statement of Ridgway, assures us that Wilson had nothing to do with Santini's publications, he is not telling the strict truth. Wilson did not, of course, write the *Appeal*, as both Gourgaud¹ and, stranger still, Piontkowski² asserted ; but he certainly overlooked the production, and probably corrected the manuscript. Like the great Protest itself, in the figure of the *Quarterly*,³ the *Appeal* may be said to have been *triformis Chimæra* : Santini supplied the framework, Maceroni the integument, and Wilson the finishing touches of the fetlock and dew-lap variety—a few vertebræ, perhaps, may be put down to Piontkowski. Holland's Motion was debated in the Lords on March 18, by Bathurst, Buckingham, and Darnley ; the papers asked for were refused, and on the 21st Holland and Darnley entered a protest against the action of the Government.

Meanwhile Piontkowski had made a *rencontre*. At the apartment house in Soho a Mr. Jardine was staying, previous to his taking up his duties as surgeon of the

¹ Lowe to Bathurst, March 15, 1818, C.O., 247. 13.

² See *post*.

³ xvi. 505.

Ocean store-ship, then loading for St. Helena. On the eve of his departure from London, about March 15 or 16—the ship must have sailed on the 20th—he approached Piontkowski with a request for an introduction, and under the impression, *as he subsequently said*, that he was being given such, took charge of a relatively bulky packet for Gourgaud. One is forcibly reminded of the Nagle Affair, the other way round ; and though the initial dispositions were different, the ultimate discomfiture was the same. Lowe relates the matter officially to Bathurst on June 7, 1817, as follows :

‘ . . . On the arrival of the *Ocean* store-ship [May 27] the Master [Johnson] brought a printed paper in the form of a pamphlet, under the title of a *Letter written by Order of the Emperor Napoleon*, being the same which has appeared in all the public papers, signed in the name of Ct. Montholon. It was merely an English translation of Ct. M.’s *Letter*, not accompanied by the original French nor preceded by the statement that has appeared in the name of Santini, and published together with Ct. M.’s *Letter* in a pamphlet under the title of *An Appeal to the British People*. This paper, such as it was, was put up in a loose scrap of common writing-paper with some writing upon it, and had been delivered to Mr. Johnson by the surgeon of his ship, by name Mr. Jardine, who had received it from Piontkowski. . . . Mr. Jardine, whom I interrogated immediately afterwards, told me he had applied to Piontkowski (who was living in the same lodging-house with him in London) for an introduction to some person at St. Helena, who could procure him the opportunity of an interview with Napoleon, and that the papers in question, as well the printed one as its envelope (both of which were intended for General Gourgaud), were delivered to him by Piontkowski for the above

purpose. On looking into the papers I read in MS. on that entitled *Letter, etc.*, the address and passage transcribed in the annexed enclosure No. 1, in the handwriting of Piontkowski. The printed Letter besides contained various interlineations, some written in French and some in English, appearing to be corrections for the press, and leading one to infer the paper had served as one of the proof-sheets, and had been given to Piontkowski for rectification. The paper which served as cover had writing on it in the same hand, or very closely resembling it, and has been transcribed in the annexed enclosure No. 2. . . . I have compared this handwriting in the papers with a letter in my possession written by Cpt. P., and find it to be the same. The whole contains evident proof of the statement which has appeared in the name of Santini being entirely a printed forgery and fabrication, and if any further proof was wanting of his incompetency for such a production, it is contained in the annexed original of a letter addressed by Santini himself to Sir T. Reade as he was on his passage by this Island.¹ Santini here was a common domestic, and occasionally employed as a tailor.²

The inference Lowe draws regarding the interlineations on what he terms the 'paper' is probably erroneous: the 'corrections' were more likely made by Piontkowski—if *he* and he alone made them; and why should they be 'some in English, some in French'?—on the actual published pamphlet, and not on the proof-sheet, which besides has other obvious characteristics. If so, such after-corrections would form a parallel series to one added as a sort of postscript to the *Letters*, and referring to the *Appeal* as those did to Montholon's Letter. These emenda-

¹ See p. 120.

² L.P., 20, 118, f. 426. Forsyth's summary is inaccurate.

tions are so trivial and so *décousu* that I have not thought it necessary to give them even in Appendix A. The important thing here is not these rectifications, whencesoever they proceeded, but the two clandestine memoranda undoubtedly in Piontkowski's hand, and intended for Gourgaud's private perusal. These 'annexed enclosures' do not figure, as they should, in the Lowe Papers—Gorrequer for once must have taken an hour off—but, fortunately, they are enshrined in the Records. 'No. 1' was as follows :

'Lord Holland has asked [*i.e.*, moved] for copies of all the instructions and correspondence. He has written me a very obliging letter. General Wilson has written a *brochure* which will appear in French and English in Santini's name, to whom I have given sundry pieces. I have made him sign a letter to controvert the newspapers which have mentioned an old uniform the Emperor is said to have presented him with, and other similar absurdities. I have given it to the editor of the *Morning Chronicle* with this letter by (*sic*) the *Ocean*. I am afraid I shall be arrested to-day. They have summoned me for noon at the Police Station.'¹

Now, what had he been up to? For he seemingly lacks that serenity of mind which comes of conscious rectitude. Frankly, I surmise that he is giving himself here, with pardonable vanity, an undue political importance, thanks to his polemical relations with the Opposition and his 'obliging' epistles from the Whig nobility, and that his passage at Bow Street was likely enough for some small formality or other, such as the verification of his papers or the identification of his wife—of anything at all felonious, of course, there was at no time the very slightest suggestion. Enclosure 'No. 2' was briefer :

¹ C.O., 247. 9.

' I have sent the *boîte à thé* to Madame G(ourgaud) at Paris. I have given news to the Families. R(ousseau) and A(rchambault) have left for America. Great changes for Tuesday, 19th March [*sic*]. All is going well until . . .'¹

The which, in four lines, at last fixes that tea-caddy, buoys up Bertrand and Montholon and even the Emperor, god-speeds the two servants, and pathetically discloses what fool's paradise the friends of Napoleon were living in and the roseate hopes centred on that field-day of the 18th. And that final aposiopesis has its virtue: for the twist you give it is the gauge of your sympathy with the Captive.

Piontkowski must have been sorely *désillusionné* by the turn of the great Debate, and seems to have contemplated as speedy a departure from London on his 'mission' to Italy as was consistent with the receipt of funds from abroad, and on March 28 writes to Castlereagh for a foreign passport, and naïvely asks him whether it can protect him 'from any measures taken against him abroad.'² The only possible reply is returned the next day, that a Foreign Office passport is only valid for British subjects, and that he must take his chance with the document *de complaisance* he possesses. As we shall see, he stood a very poor chance indeed when he did start upon his travels. But for the present he remained in England awaiting the wherewithal. That he received at this time various sums of money from friends of Napoleon and the 'Cause' is certain, though the two receipts in Appendix A refer to later and more important payments. Gourgaud deposes as much from the information picked up by Cipriani at the sea-gate on the arrival of the *Ocean* and the other store-ships (see Appendix B); and he rather sneers at Piontkowski for placing himself under

¹ C.O., 247. 9.

² C.O., 247. 11.

such obligations. Wherefore ? What was the use of the *livret* given him by the Emperor on his departure if he was not to turn it to account ? Of course, he was helped by Holland and other partisans and sympathizers. They all were in turn ; and every repatriated Exile and every Imperial Follower that needed it, whether before or after Napoleon's death, most naturally applied to the Family and the Friends. Gourgaud himself did so, O'Meara, Santini, Antommarchi, even the lackadaisical Planat, and *he* had never been within a thousand miles of the Rock. As for that additional piece of gossip that Piontkowski out of these small subsidies was ' playing the game in the West,' sporting a private coach (*roulait carrosse*), and generally living up to the armorial bearings on its panels, we may dismiss it as twaddle. No doubt he may have hired a conveyance once or twice to pay a formal call on a Burdett or a Bunbury, or to look up in decent wise Capel Lofft when he came to Town. But is it likely that he would be throwing banknotes about and making a ' splash ' with the denizens of Mayfair from a ' first-front ' in a Berwick Street lodging-house, where, by way of gilded sangrazuls, he meets the Scotch Sangrado of a second-rate store-ship ? The thing is absurd.

April Piontkowski spent in London. He saw something of leading Whigs, such as Romilly, then opposing tooth and nail the policy of governing by suspension of the Habeas Corpus, who thought him rather prone to exaggerate : he was sought out by editors of Opposition journals, who ' nosed copy ' in him, while the Government organs naturally abused him : and he was requested by Wilson to set down those ' items of information ' which subsequently constituted the *Letters*. At the end of the month he seems to have doubted the possibility of carrying out his plan of proceeding to Italy, and applied to

Ct. Lieven, Russian Ambassador to St. James', for a passport to Poland. Lieven, who probably had been set against him months before at St. Helena by Balmain's communications, refused the request, and the Pole, thus ungenerously denied access to his native land, went back to his original intention. His Biographer gives us a curious account of a supposed interview with Castle-reagh, into which he was tricked by the assurance he was about to speak with an influential member of the Opposition: as there is no other record of this strange piece of hanky-panky, one takes the item for what it is worth. In May Piontkowski accepted with his wife Capel Lofft's invitation to Troston Hall, where amongst others he met the Ipswich blue-stocking, Mrs. Cobbold, and the daughter of the house, Laura, the future Lady Trevelyan, who at a later period sketched the only portrait of him known, forming the frontispiece of this volume. I surmise he talked over with his host Wilson's request for a written relation of his St. Helena experiences, and that it was at the Loffts' instance that he decided to oblige the General. This he appears to have done about the beginning of July. The *Letters* are all undated and (with one exception) unsigned; they were transmitted by hand; and are placed in the bound volume of the Wilson Papers in no sort of order (in one case the two halves are some dozen folios apart), and one can only assign from internal evidence the approximate period. I have therefore run or even pieced them together into a continuous narrative, to spare the reader the ceaseless dodging in and out imposed upon me by an incurious official. The prefatory fragment and the long letter which takes us from La Malmaison to Torbay were written presumably between July 1 and 10. The writer was still without sufficient funds to proceed to Italy, for

the £80 received 'from an unknown hand' on May 8 (Appendix A) must have kept him and his wife in London after their return from Troston. But on July 12 he was paid by Baring Brothers, on Madame Mère's behalf, the sum of £240—not guineas, as M. Masson states—being the first instalment of the two years' salary granted him by Napoleon at his departure from the Island. The copy of the receipt is appended to his third letter—in logical sequence—which treats of the farewell on the *Northumberland*. There must have been a considerable interval between the second and the third letters, spent, no doubt, in making preparations for departure, ever imminent, now possible, and repeatedly put off. For in a note to the latter he states: 'I am leaving in three days for Italy.' This fixes its date about the beginning of August; and he must have extended the 'three days' to a fortnight or so, partly for the purpose of completing the series: as it is, whereas the first two letters are very carefully written, the remainder bear traces of a hurried quill. (He was inditing other epistles besides, and on August 4 sends one to Goulburn for transmission to Bertrand.)¹ Conscious of his shortcomings, he apologizes to Wilson for his scrawl. Sir Robert, familiar with Capel Lofft's matchless cacography, must have deemed it comparative copperplate.²

¹ C.O., 247. 11.

² Piontkowski's writing is an interesting one to the graphologist and is full of character, good and bad points being about equally divided. It is more Germanic than Romance, and even without the occasional mis-spelling or solecism one would infer that French was not the writer's mother-tongue. The quaint diæresis over the 'y' (never over the 'u') suggests at first a familiarity with Dutch (where it is strictly a dot apiece over the 'i' and 'j,' together forming a 'y'), but here merely points to a rather *suranné* French custom which was fast dying out at the Revolution. Danican writes 'citoyen,' Gouvion signs himself 'St. Cyr,' Cassanyes (*sic*) gives us 'voÿla,' 'may,' etc., in their

Having written the *Letters*, supplied the Opposition with some material items, done his best to further the cause of the Captive, and incidentally seen a fair amount of English life, social and political, Piontkowski now attempted to carry out his mission, and on August 23, 1817, quitted our hospitable shores. His subsequent adventures in foreign lands I need but briefly summarize. Having set sail from Liverpool—rumour had it, for the United States—he put in at Gibraltar for a while, and reached Genoa at the beginning of November. Foreign Governments had been apprized of his movements by our own, which saw apparently all manner of dire political possibilities in his mission (the French police, going one better, made him out the pivot of a ridiculous plot, 'faked' *ad hoc* !), and no sooner had he announced his anchorage in the Ligurian waters than he was summarily and, in contempt of all laws ever framed, forcibly apprehended and incarcerated first at Alexandria and then at Pavia; and finally, after such indignities had been heaped upon him as the confiscation of his papers and correspondence, the pillage of his belongings, and the theft of most of the money he possessed, handed over to the Austrian authorities for safe keeping. Then came a protracted captivity for Napoleon's quite harmless ex-Follower, on the principle, I suppose, of 'like master like man.' He was confined in a fort at Mantua, and then at Josephstadt, under the gaol-name of Georges Hornemann. That invested him with a cloak of mystery,

holograph letters. But they were the exception. Piontkowski's capital letters in the main betray vanity and indecision; but his own initial is almost Elizabethan in its firmness and scope. Perhaps M. Masson is right after all, and the restless Pole *was* an 'Adventurer'—in the Elizabethan sense, however. Rather *manqué*, if you will; but the seeds were there.

As for his style, suffice it to say that it is artless and to the point, and as such entirely in his favour.

suggestive of various *détenus* of the past very much more prominent than he: and *quidnuncs* even were heard to opine that the 'state prisoner' in their midst was the black sheep of some sovereign House. In March, 1820, Piontkowski was set free, and assigned Gratz as a place of residence, with the proviso that he should in no ways engage in political intrigue, nor attempt to leave the country without authority. Here he was rejoined by his wife, who, already in failing health, had gone, perhaps for the sea-trip, to the United States, and spent some time, presumably, amongst the large Bonapartist colony there established. With Napoleon's death all restrictions imposed upon the ex-Follower were *ipso facto* taken off. He spent the next four or five years in fitful attendance upon Jérôme, who took a fancy to him and employed him on sundry confidential missions, and he seems to have come into close contact with all the members of the Imperial Family. He was none too well off, and questions of money due or not due to him out of the Emperor's estate were agitated *ad nauseam* during pretty well the whole period. In 1826 he was allowed to return to France for good, and after a flying visit in the spring of 1827 to London (whence he writes, on March 28, that the cost of living is prohibitive, and Lord Holland and the Duke of Devonshire have tried in vain to get him some fiduciary post on a nobleman's estate), resided mostly at Paris, where he formed a close personal friendship with Aimé Martin,¹ and at Tours, where he met once again his old

¹ Piontkowski kept up a correspondence with Aimé Martin extending over a space of years. Five of his letters, dated variously 1827 to 1831 passed at the Paul Dablin Sale into the possession of Mr. A. M. Broadley, the Napoleonic Collector and Author, to whose kindness I owe the privilege of a glance over them. One letter makes a short reference to his St. Helena life, which was mainly reprinted in the Dablin Sale Catalogue—where I surmise M. Masson found it (ii. 172).

Elban chief, Baron Jerzmanowski, who showed him much kindness, and took charge of his wife, then rapidly dying of dropsy, during an enforced absence in Belgium in September of that year. In the summer of 1828 (not 1829, as M. Masson states) he lost Madame Piontkowska, whom, for all their frequent partings, prolonged absences and endless vicissitudes, he seems to have been devotedly attached to, and tenderly nursed to the last. He fell into a deep dejection. So listless was he that he could not be aroused to consider a proposal in December of that year to publish his life's 'Memoirs,' or even his recollections of St. Helena; besides, as he put it modestly: 'I am only a pigmy, and so much has been written about Napoleon'—even at that period! He asseverates his lifelong devotion to Napoleon, his memory and his cause, his boundless enthusiasm for the Great Man's qualities of mind and heart, his desire to spare certain unworthy members of the St. Helena circle, and frankly gives us, at that distance of time, the simple and, I think, true reason for his voluntary exile to the Rock: 'I never had any other motive than my admiration, any other ambition than to serve him as best I could.'¹

The Revolution of 1830 once more drove him from France, and he sought refuge at Geneva, where he resided with a Russian passport until June 21, 1831, first at the Place St. Antoine, and then at the Place Maurice in the old *cité*. Here the information vouchsafed by the local records is, I regret to say, of the meagrest description.²

¹ Santini, though unfriendly to and jealous of the Polish Officer, assigned in his day the same simple reason: 'Le Colonel polonais, plus français de cœur que bien des Français, homme à forte conviction, que son attachement seul à l'Empereur avoit conduit à Ste. Hélène' (p. 266).

² I regret my failure for a more personal reason, if such I may in fine obtrude. It is one of my boyish memories that my maternal great-grandfather, Aimé de St. Macaire, who for many

One thing is certain, however : he did not then contract the second marriage which M. Masson places at Geneva. We lose practically all traces of him. Like his early years, his later ones are wrapped in obscurity. He tarried at Berne and Bâle, and left Switzerland for South Germany, where he appears to have led a wandering life for years, settling in fine at Regensburg. Here he died in 1849.

Not very long before his death an interesting ceremony took place at Paris, which, when he heard of it, must have deeply moved him on national, and even more on personal, grounds. The Society of Polish Refugees in the Metropolis was presented officially in the person of Colonel Skrodski with a *clé ordinaire* of the room in which Napoleon was born, ' to serve as token to the whole Polish Nation and proof of its fidelity to the Emperor.'

Than with that ' ordinary key ' I cannot better close this very imperfect account of one who, through a life chequered beyond the lot of most, sent out his heart unswervingly to the great Idol he had traversed the seas to serve in all simplicity, with a devotion that could dispense with tokens, with a fidelity that needed not the proving of cold iron.

years dwelt in that historic home of liberty, told me he had warmly espoused the cause of Polish freedom in the thirties and forties of the last century and had personally assisted more than one refugee. The name of one was not a hundred miles off Piontkowski's own—the hapless Follower may well have been another. Perhaps it is no mere idle fancy of mine, that I have hereby thrown a few bookish and broken lights upon a life one I recall so well may not impossibly have gladdened once with the more quickening gleam of sympathy.

III
THE LETTERS

III

THE LETTERS

SIR,¹

I have great pleasure in meeting with all possible speed the demand you did me the honour of addressing to me last April, and herewith send you the various items of information you asked for respecting the Emperor Napoleon and the conditions of his present detention in the Island of St. Helena. The name you bear, the character that is yours, and the solicitous concern you manifest for the rights of nations and of mankind in general are to me so many guarantees for a whole-hearted confidence on my part, even if the noble treatment you have extended to my wife had not already induced me to break in your favour the silence I have kept hitherto, which has exposed me to universal reproach. The possibility of your wielding a happy influence for the mitigation of the Great Man's actual circumstances is, I need not say, an additional inducement. Let me at the outset give you the grounds on which I determined to remain

¹ Besides one or two more important mis-statements which I have set right, Piontkowski falls into a few trivial errors of time or place, person or fact, which will be so obvious to the student of the period, that I have not thought it necessary to point them out or give them an exaggerated prominence by correction. I prefer to let his pages stand as they were written. As an instance of the sort of thing I mean, it was not from Niort but from Poitiers that Bonnefoux was apprized of the Emperor's imminent arrival at Rochefort; it was on April 14, and not 15, that Lowe reached St. Helena; and it was £12,000, and not \$20,000, that the Treasury allowed for Napoleon and his suite.

mute and inactive while the whole of Europe was ringing with the indignation that I shared at the conduct of the Governor of St. Helena.

Deprived of all intercourse with the outer world, unable to correspond with his Relatives, and denied even the perusal of periodicals,¹ the Emperor is in complete ignor-

¹ Of course, this is an exaggeration, though one sees what the writer means. The Emperor was denied the privilege of *subscribing regularly* to English or French periodicals: 'In respect to subscribing for any particular paper, review, etc., even supposing it to be the *Courier* or the *Quarterly Review*, and not the *Morning Chronicle* or the *Edinburgh*, I conceive inconvenience might arise' (Lowe to Goulburn, April 3, 1818, L.P., 20, 122, f. 17). His supply of papers varied with the season, and depended pretty much on the humour of Lowe or the complaisance of the Admiral. Sets of the *Times* (with suppressions) were his most frequent source of information, well-nigh the sole during the first year or two. But the grievance was not so much the dearth of periodicals or books which St. Helena, as a whole, suffered from, but the fitful censorship exercised over such as did arrive. Lowe expatiates upon his 'invidious duties' in an interesting letter to Lady Holland, dated March 5, 1821: 'The use I make of my discretion in such instances (a prerogative very rarely indeed exerted by me) is frequently guided by local circumstances' (L.P., 20, 132, f. 205). Truth and logic considered, Lowe got his two adverbs mixed up. It was of small moment to Napoleon to peruse eleven reports of quite uninteresting Parliamentary debates, when the twelfth was denied him because it dealt with his own situation. Had Lowe, as King's Officer, been the only censor (as was generally supposed), there might have been some method in this particular pettiness. But he delegated his 'prerogative,' to Reade and to others. In June, 1819, for example, papers come containing statements by O'Meara and Stokoe. Lowe sends them to Plampin, to be passed on to Longwood, but leaves it to the Admiral to retain certain numbers, as possibly 'likely to lead astray' his prisoners. The latter has no hesitation, and goes one better than the Governor: 'Seeing no good reason for gratifying the people at Longwood with the infamous falsehoods they contain, I did not forward them' (L.P., 20, 126, f. 449). Plampin's motives had the sailor's directness and simplicity, Lowe's something of the scribe's subtlety. The Admiral detested the Frenchmen, one and all, and begrudged them any passing pleasure or gratification whatever. The Governor could see that the more preposterous the fables and

ance of all that is taking place in Europe ; and at my enforced removal from St. Helena (ordered by the English

outré the statements about him officially allowed to reach the Exiles, the more flattering would be the expectations formed by them, and the more top-heavy the fabric of false hopes they built up ; hence the bitterer the gall of their ultimate awakening—when, as they say, he would 'get his own back.' That lasting canker were far more telling than any momentary slight of deprivation could be, and would eventually leave his Prisoner more *abattu* and tractable than before. If Lowe desisted, I take it, it was through fear that during their ephemeral elation his charges would prove more stiff-necked and troublesome than ever (cf. Lowe to Thornton, L.P., 20,131, f. 159).

If the matter sent was censored, so was the mode of sending. 'The Paper called *The Champion* for Aug. 8, 1819, being evidently sent in triplicate for a designing purpose, I did not transmit to Longwood' (L.P., 20,130, f. 260). Triplication, one had thought, was the very antithesis of the clandestine. Napoleon appealed for reading matter from a variety of motives ; one such is noteworthy : 'They particularly desired to obtain all Publications that appeared about General Bonaparte, those of *Correspondence* especially : that it was extremely disagreeable to him to find false correspondence published, such as that with Bernadotte, which was all forged, and with Carnot and Fouché, which was partly so likewise. Gen. B. was very desirous of the opportunity of seeing that all appeared, and the falsehoods might be easily proved by the Public Archives. They were much in want also of Newspapers, not having received a regular series for a long time past of some of those they had particularly desired to be sent to them. The last received were a few of the *Constitutionnel*, but none of the *Minerve* or the *Morning Chronicle*. They had lent some French papers to the Marquis de Montchenu, but did not think it *convenable* to ask him to lend them any. . . . They were anxious for the works of Madame de Staël in French. Also a recent publication by Fleury de Chaboulon' (Gorrequer's Minutes of Interview between Lowe and Montholon, May 2, 1820, L.P., 20,130, f. 4). Whence, three weeks after : 'Count Montholon having asked the Orderly Officer for the last number of the *Edinburgh Review*, I sent that for October, 1819, it containing nothing which bore any relation to Gen. Bonaparte and his affairs' (Lowe to Bathurst, May 21, 1820, L.P., 20,130, f. 60). Presumably the numbers that *did*—and, as a matter of fact, this one contained a review of Hook's and O'Meara's pamphlets—were mutilated and sent over to the Public Library for the benefit of Schoolmaster Firmin's flock. Again : 'The *Repulse* brought Papers up to Jan. 13th, in the latest of which was the Declaration of the Allied Sovereigns

Government because I had signed a Declaration¹ which he himself had dictated to me) my august Master com-

from Troppau. The reference this paper bears to Gen. Bonaparte and its contents in general led me to imagine he would seek to make some communications to his partisans in relation to it, and I therefore resolved on *not* sending the paper; for which I shall probably be assailed hereafter, having received a note from Ct. Montholon requesting in a very particular manner I would send him the Papers up to the day of the vessel leaving England' (Lowe to Bathurst, March 18, 1821, L.P., 20,132, f. 274). Indeed, an easy prognostic! But the Declaration leaked out all the same, and Reade's *sauvrenu* ascription thereto we have already seen (p. 17). The round for fresh reading matter was usually Lowe, Plampin, the Commissioners, Longwood, though sometimes the Admiral yields to the Representatives. So that Napoleon got it at fifth or sixth hand. On a single recorded occasion, during the Last Illness, the Captive got the papers at first hand (L.P., 20,132, f. 24). Balmain and Stürmer return the 'packets' with short, polite notes; Montchenu with criticisms, especially on volumes of Memoirs, and Plampin with his customary sneer at the Exile, 'that the mighty man may not be long deprived on my account' (L.P., 20,130, f. 27). In Malcolm's year, of course, Longwood was supplied direct from the Flagship as well as from Plantation, much to the disgust of Lowe and Reade, who hadn't that particular Admiral in their pocket. 'I have seen the Admiral and he mentioned your having asked for a newspaper . . . it was mislaid and he couldn't find it. You may depend it is gone as I expected' (Reade to Lowe, Jan. 4, 1817, L.P., 20,118, f. 10). Later on, Lady Holland (with an occasional friend) did her best to keep Napoleon supplied with up-to-date reading. In the interesting list of some 150 books received from her Ladyship at Longwood, on July 1, 1820, figures the *Histoire de la Première Quinzaine de Juin, 1820* (*sic*), (L.P., 20,130, f. 193). It is pathetic to see amongst the last lots sent to Longwood a *System of Education for the Infant King of Rome*, the *Mémoires Historiques et Secrets de l'Impératrice Joséphine*, and a *Jugement Impartial sur Napoléon* (L.P., 20,132, f. 248). On February 28, 1821, came 'a small box containing an *Exposition of the System of Gall and Spurzheim*;' the which had Antommarchi but inwardly digested, he might have been moved to purloin for us the *whole* of Burton's cast of the most perfect head ever moulded by Nature (see Appendix B, end). The last consignment received by Napoleon was not Bathurst's on March 14, 1821, as one gathers from M. Gonnard (p. 18,

¹ See *ante*, p. 82.

manded me to proceed from Malta, whither Sir Hudson Lowe had told me I should be sent direct from the Cape and there detained, and straightway rejoin the Imperial Family, for the purpose of placing before them a trustworthy report of the terms and circumstances of his Captivity. He was far from thinking that I should be landed in England and granted immediate and plenary civil liberty; and he especially impressed upon me the necessity for prudent and discreet silence, and the fact that I must lose no time in compassing my object, nor jeopardize its attainment by any unauthorized publication whatever. Further, I deemed that General Montholon's Letter¹ I had committed to memory would suffice to impart to the world the true situation of the Emperor, which, be it said, is even more painful than his pride allows him to depict in that document. My chief object, therefore, was to seek as speedily as I could the relatives of the Emperor: I had to find pecuniary means for so doing, and any imprudent action on my part might have led to

Eng. Ed.), but the two cases sent by Lady Holland on December 19, 1820, which reached Longwood on March 16 (L.P., 20,132, f. 256). One case alone consisted of 147 volumes, a more 'munificent' gift than the Secretary's, which ran to twenty-eight books all told. Had the various senders employed a bookseller, the results might have proved more satisfactory. Often maps, diagrams, etc., were forgotten, and 'Campaigns' sent out without their proper plans; whence complaints to Lowe (L.P., 20,132, f. 219).

¹ Lowe always refers to the great 'Protest' as 'Ct. Montholon's letter without date.' Writers have dated it variously from August 18 to 25, 1816. Captain Poppleton's note settles the matter. 'I have the honour to forward you a letter given to me first last night which I intended to have forwarded immediately, but Ct. Montholon wished to know if he could get it back again should Napoleon wish any alteration. I told him certainly. In about an hour he demanded it, and it was not returned to me until $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 this morning—Aug. 24, 1816' (L.P., 20,115, f. 410). The same day O'Meara announced to Gorrequer the despatch of the 'grand letter.'

failure. So far, I have been unable to accomplish my mission for lack of funds—the Emperor had none to dispose of at St. Helena—and I must await them from the Continent. Though, as I have explained, I have thought silence incumbent upon me and have refrained from any unauthorized communication or publication, yet in this present case I am sure I run no risks in giving to a man of your honourable traditions and your personal distinction the report you ask me for, which it would really be a spiritless act on my part to withhold, seeing that I am able to show that Sir Hudson Lowe is acting against his instructions, and does not even trouble to inform his Government of the needless, ridiculous and vexatious restrictions he has imposed upon the Emperor Napoleon, which are enumerated in his letter of October last to Count Bertrand. The English Government, in appointing Sir Hudson Lowe to a post the maladministration of which would naturally compromise the good name of the whole British nation, credited him with such sentiments as honour and delicacy: his behaviour and his methods have shown that he knew but the mere shadow of the words. It is futile for his present defenders to seek an excuse in the position he occupies: I disagree wholly with such attempts at exculpation. The full odium of the charge fell normally upon Admiral Sir George Cockburn as the *first* custodian; yet if we draw any comparison between him and his successor, it is the incivility and evil nature of Sir Hudson Lowe that strike us at once. The Admiral was entrusted with the safe-keeping of the Emperor, who had descended straight from the Throne and saw himself with dramatic suddenness treated in a manner unworthy of his person and of an Administration in whose generosity he had placed his belief. Thus Napoleon and the officers of his suite could

look upon Cockburn but as the instrument of an iniquitous and barbarous Government : they were prejudiced against the man even before knowing him properly. He had, moreover, countless difficulties to surmount. When he reached St. Helena with his august charge, he found no suitable dwelling-house for the Captive, no furniture, no food. His energy and—why should I not say it?—his *generosity*¹ accomplished such wonders that the

¹ Not so generous after all, especially as the Treasury footed the bill for 'the crazy furniture and the rotten articles,' as Napoleon termed it to O'Meara. 'I have had much difficulty in finding the furniture required for such a house as Longwood. . . . I have been forced to purchase everything necessary. I have, however, procured almost all the articles at second-hand and at the cheapest rate at which they could be got' (Cockburn to Croker, December 13, 1815, C.O., 247. 7). Despite an occasional attempt at liberality, it must be owned that, on the whole, Napoleon was found and furnished by the authorities with much of that *fripier's* thrift made classic at Elsinore—and this from first to last. The earliest instance I find is the foregoing ; the final is the Funeral Car. 'The old carriage was broken up in a great degree to form the Funeral Car ; as an object of curiosity only it can now remain to be disposed of' (Lowe to Bathurst, May 26, 1821, L.P., 20,133, f. 246). The 'old carriage,' you remember, was the one Cockburn had purchased from Governor Wilkes on his arrival (L.P., 20,114, f. 253) and which was supplemented a little later by the Cape phaeton, paid for by the Emperor himself (C.O., 247. 5) and given eventually to Madame Bertrand. After rattling four, and even six-in-hand, up and down the Longwood ravines daily for another three or four years, Wilkes' turn-out had been replaced in 1819 by the lighter vehicle bought from Reade. Still, conveyances were scarce at St. Helena, and the gun-carriage, I suppose, had not yet come into fashion. Lowe had brought his own equipage in the *Phaeton*. It had cost him £300 with the pair of horses, one of which had died on board (L.P., 20,140, f. 2).

The justification of the official parsimony is that the £8,000 a year (raised to £12,000) came out of the British taxpayer's pocket, and that the Captive had ample means. No doubt ; but Napoleon was willing, not to say anxious, as he asseverated on various occasions, to provide for his own keep if he could only be allowed to send a sealed letter to his relatives or his bankers. When Bathurst refused that very natural request, there was no more to be said, and he assumed the responsibility for the

Emperor was very soon in enjoyment of all that could be procured in that miserable country. The delicate feeling he showed in the way he gave his orders and in the measures he was forced to take often led one to forget the true nature of his duties ; and the Emperor has done him ample justice on this count. On the day of the Admiral's departure, Napoleon said to Bertrand, who had just taken leave of him : ' Cockburn is hard by nature, and further hardened by his *métier*, but he is just and honest and a man of parts : he ought never to have accepted the post of gaoler.' The officers of the Emperor's suite could not deny the Admiral their regard, and I have no doubt he would in time have succeeded in wholly overcoming the prejudice which his functions had naturally enough awakened against him. What a difference indeed were we fated to find in Sir Hudson Lowe, who reached St. Helena six months after the Emperor, when the Captive and his followers were almost habituated to their physical surroundings, to the haplessness of their lot, and to the irksome restrictions which Sir George Cockburn had been forced to impose in pursuance of his orders !

[The foregoing pages are prefatory, and the writer refers to St. Helena more in an argumentative than a narrative way. The reminiscences proper start at La Malmaison as follows.]

outlay ; more shame to him that he should have given his countrymen cause to blush for their meanness. One could hardly expect the Man who had righted the finances of France in a masterly manner and, for all his princely largesses to Eugène, Berthier, and others, made very little provision his own self, to reveal the whereabouts of his fortune for his enemies to confiscate ! There was only too much of this sort of spirit : ' It is very desirable to discover both the Treasure and the Agents ' (Bunbury to Lowe, March 6, 1816, L.P., 20, 115, f. 27). Likewise does a backwoodsman seek for another's *cache*, and with the same end in view.

The Emperor was busily engaged at La Malmaison,¹ where he had with him his Brother Joseph, Queen Hortense, the Duc de Rovigo, General Ct. Beker and several other officers of his household. Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch were constantly calling upon him. The waiting-room was always full of general and superior officers, who came either to press their personal service upon the Emperor or to present addresses from Army corps, from Federates, and from various other bodies. Napoleon rarely appeared in the hall, but often walked in the garden, where he occasionally received deputations introduced by the Duc de Rovigo. As at Paris, he had about him his Aides-de-Camp, Orderly Officers, Equerries and Chamberlain. There were on duty at the Palace a detachment of heavy dragoons of the guard and one of grenadiers of the guard: they were quartered at Reuil and, as usual, were relieved every twenty-four hours. Communications with Paris were carried on day and night by the privy messengers and the dragoon orderlies. The gardens in the rear of the Palace were defended by troops of the line or by the Young Guard. From the fact that a musket-shot was fired during the night preceding the Emperor's departure by a sentry who seemingly did not know his duties and wished to make believe that he had seen Prussians about, I gather there were no grenadiers of the guard outside; but I may be mistaken. It was owing to the proximity of the Prussians that the Bridge²

¹ Napoleon reached La Malmaison in the afternoon of the 25th. The four days he spent there could only be termed 'busy' from the coming and going of official and personal visitors. Napoleon himself, writers agree, spent much of the time in idle reverie, though, as Dr. Holland Rose puts it, 'at times he was full of fight,' and sent a Proclamation to the *Moniteur* which Fouché suppressed. As an outside spectator, Piontkowski formed a misleading judgment. Three important visits he omits: Laffitte, Corvisart, and Madame Walewska.

² Chatou. Blücher had sent a flying column to destroy it.

near La Malmaison was burnt down on the afternoon of June 28. At two in the morning, on the 29th, came the Duc Decrès, Minister of Marine, and Count Lavalette,¹

¹ Piontkowski's *hour* is Lavalette's own, but he is presumably one day out. I say 'presumably,' for the matter is in doubt. In his great work, 1815, M. Houssaye gives us an important footnote (iii., 223-4), in which he reconstructs the time-table of that fateful 29th of June. He rejects Beker's statement, follows for choice a 'hurried note' of Planat dashed off to a friend that same day, and thus gives the visits to Napoleon: 3 to 4 a.m., Decrès and Boulay de la Meurthe; 8.30 to 9.30 a.m., Lavalette and Bassano; 10 a.m., Beker. Planat himself gives no time for the first two, makes Bassano and Lavalette reach the Palace 'towards 9,' and places Beker's interview immediately after (p. 219). Now what does Lavalette himself say? 'I returned to La Malmaison at 2 a.m. The Emperor was in bed. He called me in and I gave him an account of my mission and renewed my entreaties. He listened to me, but vouchsafed no answer. Nevertheless he rose and spent part of the night in walking to and fro. The morrow was the last day of that sorrowful drama. The Emperor had gone to bed again (*s'était recouché*) and had slept a few hours. I entered his room towards noon: "Had I known you were at hand, I should have summoned you," said he to me' (p. 200). The writer gives no dates. The 'last day,' of course, was the 29th. If Lavalette uses the word 'morrow' (*le lendemain*) strictly, then his 2 a.m. visit took place on the 28th. If so, why state that Napoleon had 'gone to bed again' before his next interview at noon on the 29th? He naturally would in the course of some thirty hours or more, spent, not on the battle-field, but in dreamy indolence under Hortense's roof—'a part of the night' one takes as three hours or so. On the other hand, if the writer uses 'morrow' loosely and starts the day with the definitive rising of the Emperor and looks upon the early morning interruption as part of the night (and day) before, then his 2 a.m. visit was paid on the 29th as above. In any case, the last interview was at noon on the 29th, and not, as M. Houssaye says, at 8.30. His authority (Planat) may be right nevertheless, for, as the Emperor's words almost imply, Lavalette may have been cooling his heels outside for three hours before being admitted. This would put Beker's interview at one and his departure at two or so. It is significant that M. Houssaye, whilst quoting a previous page of Lavalette, ignores the above passage. Perhaps he, too, has found it rather puzzling, hence his silence on the point. Where the great historian is mute, it is not for the mere historical writer to pronounce. I simply note Piontkowski's hour and pass on.

and were closeted for a long time with the Emperor, returning to Paris immediately after. Towards noon we received from the Préfecture of Police our passports for Rochefort, delivered at the request of Ct. Bertrand : there were some, too, signed in blank by the Duc d'Otrante. The Grand Marshal had bespoken all the post-horses at Nanterre, and at 5 p.m. the Emperor took his departure. His suite followed by different routes to avoid attracting more notice than necessary ; and the general rendezvous was at Niort. The Imperial arms on the coaches had been effaced, but the eagles were still discernible, and at the various relays we came to the natives would amuse themselves by tracing them out with the forefinger through the dust that had settled upon them. The National Guards were on duty everywhere and our passports were repeatedly examined. I posted with Countess Bertrand and her children, who travelled under her maiden name of Dillon, and, with three carriages, couriers and domestics in the Imperial livery, we could not help attracting attention. The children grew so weary that Madame Bertrand decided to break the journey at Poitiers, where our arrival soon brought a crowd together. I happened to tell one of the servants to take little Napoléon, the elder son of Ct. Bertrand, who had gone to sleep. No sooner had the name of Napoléon fallen upon the ears of the bystanders than the rumour spread that Napoléon II. was in their midst, that Madame Bertrand was really Madame de Montesquiou, and her two other children his travelling companions. We endeavoured to undeceive them, but in vain ! From all sides came the cries that nowhere could Napoléon II. be safer than in the bosom of his faithful people, who would protect him against the Bourbons and the foreign invader alike, and that each and all were prepared to give their lives for

the sovereign of their choice. The crowd, in fact, declared they would never let us go and would pay no heed to Madame Bertrand's assurances and entreaties, and I believe we should never have got away but for the approach of darkness and the presence of the *gendarmérie* in the courtyard. Madame Bertrand would not retire to rest until I had taken up my position on a chair outside her door, with Gilis,¹ one of the Imperial valets, seated on the stairs at hand. Eventually we left Poitiers before sunrise, so as to avoid another *attroupement*, and reached Niort towards noon on July 1.

The Emperor had taken up his residence at the Préfecture and his suite theirs in adjoining houses. Prince Joseph was the only member of the family at his side. The greatest enthusiasm was rife, and the authorities, including the General in command, whose name, I think, was Devaux, took their orders from the Emperor as if he had never abdicated at all. His Majesty's departure for Rochefort was fixed for 11 p.m. on July 2. The highway from Niort² being but little frequented, the necessary post-horses had to be requisitioned betimes, so that the whole country-side became aware very soon that something quite unusual was toward, and the presence of bodies of hussars and chasseurs still further added to the general curiosity. We left Niort in the Emperor's carriage and with the escort, by the ordinary road, while his Majesty, with the Duc de Rovigo, Ct. Bertrand and Ct. Beker,

¹ Pélissier's 'Gillis' or 'Jillis,' who was valet at Elba. He was one of those sent back from Plymouth.

² This was the ordinary post route from Paris to Rochefort and the most direct. From the *Etat Général des Routes de Poste de l'Empire Français* it appears that the route was divided into 61½ 'postes' or sections. To the traveller the cost of posting was 1 fr. 50 c. *per* horse *per* 'poste' for the postmaster, *plus* half that amount for the postillion. The relays varied with the season of the year and the state of the roads.

went more quietly and secretly by another route, owing to the proximity of the Vendéens. This precaution turned out to be needless, for we met with nothing but the utmost enthusiasm all the way to Rochefort, the villages and even the detached houses along the road being illuminated in our honour. The Emperor reached Rochefort between 3 and 4 a.m. on the 3rd, when the report of a cannon fired on the escape of some galley prisoners gave rise to the rumour that his life had been attempted. The whole suite arrived at Rochefort the same day without having experienced the slightest unpleasantness, a blow or two with a riding-whip administered by M. de Ste. Catherine to an insolent police commissary at Saintes being hardly worth recording.

Of the officers who had remained behind, Gen. Drouot, Col. Labédoyère and Baron Jerzmanowski, Colonel of Lancers (who presented a petition from the Polish troops in France to accompany the Emperor) were to follow Napoleon as soon as his son was established on the throne.

The barriers of Paris had been closed, and the bridge between it and La Malmaison barricaded. Ct. Bertrand had forbidden the postmaster and the postillions to inform anyone of the route the Emperor had taken : so implicitly were his orders obeyed that an officer of the suite, Captain Mercher, who had tarried in Paris, offered fifty francs in vain for the desired information to the postillions he fell in with on their return to Nanterre. He arrived at Rochefort a couple of days late.

From Niort Gen. Beker had sent word to Baron Bonnefoux, Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, to prepare his official residence and place it at the Emperor's disposal. On his arrival Napoleon took up the appointed quarters, and with him or about him were his Brother Joseph, Ct. and

Ctess. Bertrand, Rovigo, Lallemand, Ct. and Ctess. Montholon, Gourgaud, Planat, Résigny, Schultz, Autric, Mercher, Rivière, Las Cases, father and son, Piontkowski, Ste. Catherine (the page who was related to the Empress Joséphine), and Colonel Baillon, adjutant of the Palace, who was to return to Paris with Ct. Beker. The Emperor retained almost every day to dinner the two ladies, his Brother, Bertrand, and Beker, and occasionally Lallemand. We others had our own mess, to which were asked the officers of the cavalry escort, the Maritime Prefect, and a few naval officers. The billiard-room served as ante-chamber, and Bertrand, Rovigo, and one or two others were generally to be found there. Napoleon often showed himself in the garden, to the acclamations of the crowd that pressed against the railings. The whole town was enthusiastic, and many of the natives told us that the Prefect was a traitor, and was constantly sending peasants off to La Rochelle to apprise the English of the march of events. The Emperor was quite cognizant of Bonnefoux' duplicity, and had him secretly shadowed the whole time. Ct. Bertrand told me that we need fear nothing from him at Rochefort : public opinion was wholly for us, and he should be placed under lock and key during the embarkation of the Emperor, if the least ill-will was noticed on his part. It was he who caused the delay we experienced at Rochefort, and possibly, too, Captain Philidor (*sic*) of the *Saale* ;¹ for the frigates *Méduse* and *Saale* and the

¹ Commandant Philibert was in charge of the Station and the small squadron watching the English cruisers, and took his orders from both Bonnefoux and Beker. The state of unpreparedness of the *Saale* and the *chasse-marées* under him may have had even greater influence upon Napoleon's fate than here suggested. Philibert presently assumed the command of the *Amphytrite*, the frigate in which the notorious revolutionary General Danican had served as a *volontaire* under d'Estaing. Stuart advises

brig *Epervier*, according to Decrès' express orders, were to be held in absolute readiness upon the Emperor's arrival. The baggage and belongings having been shipped at Rochefort, we left at 3 p.m. on the 8th for [Fouras], a village four leagues off, where the Emperor embarked with the afternoon tide, and proceeded on board the *Saale*, at anchor in the Roads. The whole route from Rochefort [to Fouras] was lined with people, whose faces betokened nothing but grief and sadness: the same attachment and feeling I had witnessed during our march from Cannes to Paris. The denunciations of the natives of Rochefort were well grounded: the Prefect was a traitor who informed the English by means of fisherfolk and peasants of the embarkation of the Emperor, and did his best to retard the victualling of the ships. Yet the Bourbons, instead of giving him the cross of St. Louis he anticipated, dismissed him for not having done even more than was possible.¹ The *Bellerophon* was already in sight, and the Emperor held several councils in consequence. The Captain of the *Méduse*

Castlereagh from Paris, on May 27, 1816, as a 'remarkable—and suspicious—coincidence,' that it is this same Philibert, 'to whose crew Napoleon had given money' in July, 1815, who is taking out in the *Amphytrite* Count Dubois as Governor of the Isle of Bourbon (C.O., 247. 7). As the frigate was to pass within a thousand miles of St. Helena, that was quite enough for the Cabinet! Lowe is duly notified (L.P., 20,115, f. 174) and Malcolm is instructed to keep an especially sharp look-out for the French man-of-war (L.P., 20,116, f. 76). In the early part of 1817 Philibert was cruising off Malabar, where he fell in with an E.I.C. Captain and informed him of the quite *controuvé* report that Gourgaud was no longer at St. Helena (*Journal*, i. 544).

¹ The writer is not just to Bonnefoux. The Prefect sympathized deeply with the fallen Emperor, but saw no other course open to him than to carry out the peremptory instructions sent him by Fouché. No man could have felt more poignantly than he did the order he received on the last day to arrest Napoleon if still on land. The voluntary surrender a few hours after released him from his terrible dilemma.

—I've forgotten that brave man's name¹—expressed the opinion that, if it was impossible to get by under the cover of darkness, the best thing to do was for the two frigates to dash out and engage the *Bellerophon*, the brig thus gaining time to slip past with Napoleon on board. The Captain of the *Saale*, the senior officer, found objections to that course, however, and as any enterprise carried out without his consent would have been fraught with peril, the proposal was dropped. The wind continued in an adverse quarter, and we were forced to land at the Island of Aix, where the Emperor repaired to the Governor's residence. He lived in great retirement, dined alone very often, and worked very hard. Gen. Lallemand was sent to Bordeaux, where he found the officers, the troops, and the major part of the inhabitants most favourably disposed towards Napoleon. I cannot understand why the Emperor did not choose that port for his embarkation. Numberless deputations came to the Island and entreated him to remain in France. His reply was invariably that he did not wish another drop of French blood to be shed for him. The war, if it was being waged against him personally, would be over the moment he set foot voluntarily on an English vessel: if, on the contrary, as he felt sure would be the case, it continued after all pretext therefor had been removed, then the eyes of the whole world would be unseeled and it would become manifest that neither he, nor his Family, nor even France herself, was the real object of hostilities, but that the struggle was one of crowned heads against the constitutional liberties of the nations.² Even at that

¹ Pontée.

² Cf. 'The Emperor wished to play a political part no longer. . . . He did not wish to be the instrument of, or pretext for, a Civil War devoid of all result' (Las Cases' intercepted letter to Lucien, August 1, 1816, L.P., 20, 115, f. 368).

time Napoleon looked upon Waterloo as the tomb of the British Constitution, and thereby the ruin of the English nation.¹

¹ The following is an alternative narrative in Piontkowski's own hand of the foregoing events, as quoted by his Biographer. Though there are a few trivial variations in matters of details, the two accounts, written, it would seem, at a distance of time of some five years or more, are in entire accord and help not a little to establish Piontkowski's personal veracity, in contrast with his Biographer's peculiar twist: 'The Emperor left La Malmaison on June 29th. His suite had orders to proceed to Niort, the general rendezvous, by different routes, as much to be able to procure post-horses as to avoid arousing undue notice. I accompanied Madame Bertrand and her children with three carriages. Her eldest child was christened Napoleon; and on a servant calling him by name at Poitiers, the report spread that Napoleon II. with M^{de}. de Montesquiou was amongst us. The inhabitants were seized with wild enthusiasm, and clamoured to take their Emperor under their protection: all remonstrances were useless. Officers and old soldiers set their faces against our departure. During the night I managed to quieten them a little, but could not prevent a few from remaining in the courtyard and even the inn itself. M^{de}. Bertrand was more dead than alive. I had to remain the livelong night posted at her door, and told M. Gilis, the Emperor's valet, to guard the staircase. We got off, however, before daybreak and reached Niort, where the Emperor with Prince Joseph and his suite had arrived 24 hours before us. The escort of hussars and mounted chasseurs as well as the post-horses were ordered. We left at midnight in the carriage which had brought the Emperor to Niort, and with two other conveyances. During the night we passed through illuminated villages, amidst the joyful clamour of the population; and as far as Rochefort everybody, the escort included, thought the Emperor was in the carriage, whereas he had driven off to that seaport in quite another with Count Bertrand, the Duc de Rovigo and General Count Beker. The Emperor remained at Rochefort from the 3rd till the 8th of July, and resided at the Préfecture. A traveller, fresh from Paris, gave me a news-sheet containing Fouché's Letter to Wellington. I handed it over to the Grand Marshal, who showed it to the Emperor, and on his return said very sadly to Rovigo and Lallemand: "It's evident; it's the Bourbons once again. It's a stroke of genius on Fouché's part, and his alone!"

'The frigates in the roads were not yet victualled, and the wind in addition was against their departure. The inhabitants of

During our sojourn at the Isle of Aix several plans were mooted before the Emperor finally decided to send Gourgaud and Las Cases on board the *Bellerophon*. One, and I think the best, was that the Emperor, accompanied

Rochefort, amongst whom the greatest enthusiasm was rife, and who were all devoted to the Emperor, cried aloud that the Maritime Prefect was a traitor; that he carried the cross of St. Louis in his pocket, and that he was in communication with the English squadron by means of the fishermen of La Rochelle. They were not mistaken. The Prefect had informed the English of the arrival of the Emperor at Rochefort. I imparted my suspicions to Count Bertrand, who replied that there was nothing to fear, as the Prefect was being shadowed, and that, if the necessity arose, he would be boxed up¹ (that was his expression) till after the Emperor's departure.

The Emperor left on the 8th of July for the point of embarkation, distant some 3 or 4 leagues from Rochefort. The whole route to the sea was lined with people who showed Napoleon the same enthusiasm as I had witnessed on the march from Golfe Juan to Paris.

The Emperor went on board the *Saale* frigate, with the Grand-Marshal and his family, the Duc de Rovigo, General Lallemand, General Gourgaud, Count Las Cases, and Maingaud the surgeon. General Montholon and his family, several other officers and I, all went on board the *Méduse* frigate. The *Bellerophon*, notified of the Emperor's departure by the Prefect of Rochefort, came and took up her position in front of the roadstead. The Emperor held a council on the *Saale*, at which it was decided to land at the Island of Aix. The [naval] officers told us that there was a passage in the roads sufficiently wide to allow the Emperor's escape unperceived in the brig.² They showed me that exit on the map. It would have sufficed in fact for the two frigates to attack the *Bellerophon* together to prevent her giving chase to the brig, in case the latter was noticed, or at least to damage the Englishman and so render her pursuit unavailing. One could also have slipped past under cover of darkness and given battle, if need were, with the two frigates, or else with one frigate and the brig, whilst the Emperor got away in the other.

Unfortunately instead of staking all to preserve his liberty, the Emperor decided to surrender to the English, trusting as he did to the honour of the Regent and counting, too, upon the generosity of the English Government, whom he had very mistaken notions of. He soon learned how he had deluded himself.

¹ *Qu'on l'encoffrerait.*

² *Epervier.*

only by Bertrand, Rovigo, Lallemand, and a single domestic, his first *chasseur*, Alix St. Denis, should leave quietly either in a vessel lying close to the Isle of Oléron or in a *chasse-marée*, manned only by naval officers and midshipmen, who were eagerly soliciting that honour.

Gourgaud and Las Cases were sent on the 14th on board the *Bellerophon*, the Emperor having indited a letter to the Prince Regent. Gourgaud still possesses the holograph draft in which Napoleon has only made one change, the word *foyers* (hearths) being substituted for *cendres* (ashes) which is crossed out.¹ The Declarations of Gourgaud and Las Cases, under the date of April 18, 1816,

Instead of being received with hospitality and being enabled, as he flattered himself, to live quietly in England, he was not even allowed to set foot on English soil, but was treated as a prisoner of war; and the world's hero was deported to the arid rock of St. Helena, there to bring his glorious life to an end.

'The conduct of the English Government towards Napoleon will be judged by posterity. This blot, which time cannot efface, has sullied England herself. The Great Man was subjected to all the indignities which hatred can devise. They even denied him the title of Emperor, acknowledged by the whole of Europe: The English Nation itself reproved this unworthy act of revenge. Napoleon was denied the power of subscribing to English periodicals, and letters addressed to him or to members of his suite were sent back to Europe if by chance they had reached St. Helena through other channels than those appointed by the authorities. . . .'

The letter ends with a little vitriolic vituperation of Lowe.

¹ The famous letter is so well known that I need not quote it again. Fleury de Chaboulon gives us (ii. 324) a *fac-similé* of it, with Gourgaud's attestation in manuscript. The above emendation appears, and though Fleury adds 'le mot rayé et souligné est illisible,' the word *cendres* is quite legible through the scoring. In printing that historic document, the Royalist newspapers of July, 1815, falsified it by the substitution, with their usual petty spite, of the signature 'Buonaparte' for 'Napoléon.' To be strictly consistent, they should have granted the signatory not only the 'u' (dropped in 1796), but the *particule* 'de' as well. For to all that ridiculous rabble of wraiths returning from Emigration Napoleon had never reigned and was still merely, like one in a playbill, 'a noble from Corsica'!

which we gave copies of to Warden and I shall have occasion to refer to when dealing with Sir H. Lowe's arrival at St. Helena, contain the particulars of this negotiation. Gourgaud sailed on the 14th in the cutter *Slaney* for England with the Letter, which he was commanded to deliver in person to His Royal Highness: he was, however, not permitted to land, and remained on board at Torbay, where he preceded us by twenty-four hours. Admiral Hotham, who was on the *Superb*, came to pay his respects to the Emperor, and remained quite a long time conversing with Madame Bertrand. He was a very pleasant man, and impressed Napoleon very favourably with the type of the English naval officer. Captain Maitland yielded not a jot to him in the matter of delicate feeling; so that the behaviour of these two commanders led us at first to look upon Napoleon's choice as a very happy one, more especially as the reception given the Emperor conformed perfectly to the estimate which he and his chief officers entertained of the frank and generous character of the English. Napoleon seemed quite content, and he took an interest in the smallest details connected with the ship, and even inquired of the midshipmen the use of several implements which were unknown to him. He watched long and carefully the sailors' drills; in a word, he acted as if on his own ship: and, to the honour of the English, I am bound to say that their respectful behaviour to him warranted him in forgetting that he was on board a vessel hitherto hostile.¹ He

¹ All 'hostility' vanished the moment the Emperor set foot on the English ship, and one and all fell under the charm of his manner. A note of wonder runs through the countless depositions to that effect. 'Such is the talent of this Child and Champion of Jacobinism that before they arrived in Torbay he was considered by all on board as a *devilish good fellow*' (*Morning Chronicle*, July 27, 1815).

'Is that *he*—is that the man that has so wasted and destroyed

invited himself to luncheon with Admiral Hotham, who as a well-bred man knew how to take such honourable trust, and who received the Emperor with the greatest distinction.

I may state here retrospectively that Prince Joseph remained incognito in the neighbourhood of Rochefort, and that General Beker and Colonel Baillon, who was to see to the safe return of the sixty Imperial horses, got back to Rochefort with the half of the Emperor's servants, whom their master had discharged at the Island of Aix.

Napoleon remained on the *Bellerophon* with the ladies and the general officers. Planat, Schultz, Résigny, Autric, Mercher, Rivière, Ste. Catherine and Piontkowski, with the half of the domestics that had been retained, proceeded on board the *Myrmidon*, commanded by Capt. Gambier, a young man of good birth and breeding, who was most obliging and amiable, like all the officers of that corvet. Maingaud the surgeon had remained on the *Bellerophon*. This wretch abandoned the Emperor at the very moment of his departure for St. Helena, he who had had the good fortune of being selected to accompany him; an honour which hundreds of physicians and surgeons had aspired to. The loss meant nothing to Napoleon, who puts no faith in medicine and never has recourse to drugs: but it was a deprivation for the ladies; and Maingaud was vowed to universal contempt.¹ Mr.

the human species?' is, I am told, the general burst of high and low (*ibid.*, August 3, 1815).

¹ Unduly severe. As a matter of fact, Maingaud, as O'Meara and Maitland depose, refused to go any farther for dread of seasickness. He had been but a short time with the Emperor, having replaced Foureau de Beauregard after Elba. It is interesting to note that after O'Meara's removal Foureau begged hard to return to his old Master once more, filled, maybe, with a presentiment of the seriousness of affairs and the utter inade-

O'Meara, surgeon-major of the *Bellerophon*, who is fluent in Italian and learnt French very speedily,¹ has taken his place. He is a very honest man, whom the Emperor and all his retinue hold in esteem. Napoleon used to say that the only medicine for him when unwell was a great hunting expedition in the Forest of Fontainebleau. He would tire out eight horses in one day! In the field or on the march he was never ill.² His spirit and flesh

quacy of Antommarchi. As, however, he required provision not only for himself but for his wife and 'retinue' as well on the Rock, the English Government did not accede to his request (L.P., 20,128, f. 277). None the less, Napoleon may have nursed a false hope in the matter, for newspapers reached St. Helena on more than one occasion with the 'official' announcement that Fourreau had been selected (L.P., 20,126, f. 395).

¹ After a fashion. He was never very proficient, and later on Lowe questioned whether he could follow a conversation in that language (L.P., 20,118, f. 366).

² Like many others, Piontkowski credited Napoleon with an unexceptionable physique and an unfailing health, and Corvisart's diplomatic bulletins encouraged that view. We know it was not so. In youth Napoleon was thin, pale, and weak-chested. As a young officer he contracted a cutaneous disease he retained five years, which made him unnaturally sallow and pulled him down very much. During the Consulate and the Early Empire he was at his best, and constant horse exercise kept him very fit. After Tilsit he put on fat, the circulation grew sluggish, and there was an apoplectic tendency. In Russia, as Ségur deposes, he was very ill; and presently he developed the cystic and urethral trouble which lasted till the end. [See Rutledge's post-mortem report—L.P., 20,133, f. 150. One might speculate upon the effect at the crucial moment of a battle, a Council of Ministers, or even a Congress of Kings of a ten minutes' absence in pain on the part of the protagonist.] At St. Helena, of course, the Captive was never well, and the various affections mentioned by O'Meara were but the *prodromes* of the Last Illness. On that Last Illness I may be pardoned a long note:—

M. Masson tells us that the Great Emperor died without a doctor about him; and who shall deny that his contemptuous ignorance of Antommarchi and Arnott is deserved? Arnott's capacity and discretion may be judged from the fact that on April 6, after a week's visits, he 'appears to think' (as Reade puts it to Lowe) that the Patient is 'not affected with any

alike are quite extraordinary, and rise superior to circumstances: want of exercise alone can affect him adversely, and such is the case at St. Helena.

We cast anchor in Torbay on July —, and were joined once more by Gourgaud. Captain Maitland

serious complaint; probably more mental than any other'; he sees 'no danger whatever,' and he proceeds to give the D.A.G. intimate details of the sick-room, which for the nonce Forsyth very properly suppresses (L.P., 20,133, f. 20). This, mark you, after Napoleon had been wasting for some six months, vomiting daily since November 30, when the postillion Tapp had stopped the phaeton thrice for the purpose (L.P., 20,131, f. 256), and been for over a month too weak to get unassisted into a very low bed. [On March 1 the brass bedstead had been cut down to a height of 11 inches, as the Patient 'was so weak that he found it too high' (L.P., 20,132, f. 194). For the doctor's convenience, and for one other reason, this height was before the end increased by the use of four mattresses (L.P., 20,133, f. 108)]. In fairness to Arnott, whatever may be thought of his powers of diagnosis, and still more of prognosis, he at least did not espouse the pet 'liver theory' of Antommarchi, Stokoe, and O'Meara. As M. Gonnard in his authoritative work asserts that he did, and that he 'agreed with all of them' (p. 107), let us go a little into the matter, and refer to Arnott's notes and conversations, collated with his *Account* as given to the public in 1822. Even before seeing the Emperor, Arnott had refused to endorse the propriety of Antommarchi's daily emetics (L.P., 20,132, f. 320); just as Dr. Shortt, on December 27, had expressed his astonishment at the latter's use of blisters and issues in a 'bowel complaint,' as tending, not to cure, but to *produce* ulcers, which would weaken the constitution (L.P., 20,131, f. 356). Arnott's first visit was paid on April 1. From the 2nd he paid two visits a day at 9 or 10 a.m. and 5 or 6 p.m. He treated his Patient throughout not for a hepatic, but a gastric, disorder, combined with prostration and hypochondriasis. On April 5 he writes privately to Gorrequer that he did not find the Emperor 'labouring under any of the symptoms' described by Antommarchi (L.P., 20,133, f. 18). On April 6 he finds 'No fever upon him, notwithstanding Dr. Antommarchi had said he had passed a very bad night *with much fever*' (L.P., 20,157, f. 3). All through, until the end of April, one sees that at his morning visit Arnott doubts the truth of his colleague's account of the night. On April 10 Arnott sounds the liver, and can 'discover no morbid affection there'

received orders to fly the yellow flag. From thence we sailed for Plymouth, which we reached on August 1. The *Morning Chronicle* gives a fairly accurate account of our journey, barring the fiction about the poisoning of the Emperor. *He* is at all times stronger and greater

(*ibid.*, f. 24) ; he can 'perceive no induration nor swelling whatsoever' (*ibid.*, f. 6) ['no disease of the liver,' *Account*, p. 8] ; and he disabuses Bertrand of the notion that it was the seat of the disease. That day he tries to persuade Antommarchi to attend the sick-bed with him (*ibid.*, f. 4). The Italian refuses, as he had done the day before, when he had gone to Lowe and asked his permission to return to Europe to 'enjoy his native air' and publish a book ! (L.P., 20,133, f. 29). When he stated at that interview that he and Arnott 'concurred fully on every point,' and that there was no jealousy or pique on his part, he was putting an undue strain upon the Governor's credulity ! On April 11 Arnott 'repeatedly declares that he could discover no organic affection, and considered a great part of the disease to lie in the mind' (L.P., 20,157, f. 7). On April 17 he 'becomes more and more confirmed in the opinion that the disease is hypochondriasis,' and he—actually !—adds : 'Anything occurring to break the present association of his ideas would doubtless have a good effect. If, for example, a "seventy-four" was to arrive from England to take him away, I have no doubt he would soon recover. This would put him on his legs directly' (*ibid.*, f. 9). That very day Antommarchi was stating that Napoleon 'would be carried off suddenly' (*ibid.*, f. 10). On his colleague's seventy-four, I suppose ? The Cassandra was Montholon, who, on the 17th gave his Master some three weeks to live. On the 18th Arnott again examines the liver : 'I do not discover in that viscus any unusual fullness, swelling or induration' (*ibid.*, f. 26). On the 20th Antommarchi states that during the night Napoleon was 'much troubled ['somewhat teased,' *Account*, p. 14] with a great sensation of heat in his bowels, accompanied with thirst and a sense of choking' (*ibid.*, f. 27). Arnott's 'own account, however,' is this : 'Much the same state as he was last night ; can perceive no difference whatever ; decidedly not worse' (*ibid.*, f. 11). On the 23rd Arnott again becomes more and more confirmed in the opinion that it is hypochondriasis, *having many dyspeptic symptoms*—the cure probably tedious because he [Dr. A.] could not give him that which would set him right.' Lowe asks what that can be, and the surgeon dramatically replies : 'Liberty !' (*ibid.*, f. 12). On the 26th Napoleon 'asked me what was to be done for him and what his disease was ?' I said that

than Fate : but on this occasion his Followers were stricken with grief when it was made known to them that only three officers and twelve domestics were to be allowed to share their Sovereign's lot.

We weighed anchor early on the 7th, and sailed to

I conceived his disease to be in the digestive organs. He then asked me if I thought his liver was affected. I replied that I had examined it very minutely at different times and could discover no hardness or swelling in the liver ; in consequence of which I did not think it was affected ; there might be some want of action in it' (*ibid.*, f. 28). The two surgeons for once agree to continue the medicine. On the 27th Arnott is alarmed. The vomiting is more serious from 11 a.m. to 3.30 p.m.—' black, like coffee-grounds' (*ibid.*, f. 29). [This suggests ulceration but not cancer to him, *Account*, p. 30.] Then the Patient obstinately refuses all medicines and treatment (*ibid.*, f. 14), though he allows Arnott, on the 29th, to apply a blister to the stomach (*ibid.*, f. 29). Meanwhile Antommarchi applies two to the inside of the thighs, 'without my knowledge,' as his colleague complains (*ibid.*). [Forsyth, following Reade, erroneously states that Napoleon 'pulled off the blister before it could produce any material effect' (L.P., 20,133, f. 93). What Arnott says is that the Patient tore off the *plaster* (of cummin) which had been applied, on the 27th, before the blister (L.P., 20,157, f. 29). The account at f. 16 reverses the order.] On May 2 Arnott gives up hope : 'this hiccupping is almost continual now'; there is *singultus* and other grave symptoms (*ibid.*, f. 17). On May 3—the last day of the illness as such : the 4th was the rally, the 5th the agony—Arnott has two differences with Antommarchi. The first is about enemata. 'Dr. Arnott is much displeased at Dr. Antommarchi having opposed giving him a *lavement*, and he is in consequence going to speak very seriously to Ct. Bertrand and Ct. Montholon about it' (*ibid.*). The Italian carries his point, on a hygienic, and not a therapeutic, ground be it said (L.P., 20,133, f. 107). The second is settled the other way. Arnott tries to prevail upon Antommarchi to administer calomel. The latter objects. Drs. Shortt and Mitchell are called in and support Arnott. Still the Italian holds out. The matter is referred to Montholon, who gives the three Englishmen reason. The treatment is carried out, and has the desired effect (L.P., 20,157, f. 18). On the 4th Arnott has a gleam of hope. On the 5th he watches the twelve hours' agony, and sees Napoleon expire at 5.49 p.m. (*ibid.*, f. 34). At the dissection, when the viscera are removed and held up to view, it is not Arnott, but Shortt, who alone of

meet the *Northumberland*. I and the others I have named were on the frigate *Eurotas*, Captain Lillicrap, to which we had repaired from the *Myrmidon*, via the frigate *Liffey*. The Emperor, great and generous as ever shared out amongst his officers and his servants the little

the seven English surgeons present declares, with Antommarchi, that 'the liver is enlarged,' the others stating merely that it is 'a large liver.' Reade, you remember, stepped forward and advised them to come to some agreement (L.P., 20, 133, f. 134). Incidentally, the D.A.G., with his usual surly suspicion, had not liked the way Arnott had deferred to Bertrand and Montholon during the last illness: 'He was by much too civil to Bonaparte's Followers, and he either did, or ought to have, known (*sic*) that whatever attention he paid to them was in a manner at *your* expense' (Reade to Lowe, October 22, 1822, L.P., 20, 133, f. 319). Could boorishness about a deathbed go farther? Of Shortt's dissentient voice, suffice it to say that Lowe, writing to Bathurst on May 10, regrets his 'conduct'—he had fain said 'misconduct'—and believes that 'he feels a little ashamed of the opinion he has offered' (*ibid.*, f. 170).

One striking result of the autopsy is Montholon's *volte-face*, genuine or otherwise. On March 5 he makes this assertion to his wife: 'Ce maudit St. Hélène (*sic*) l'aura tué !' (L.P., 20, 132, f. 211), and on May 6 this one: 'Sa mort n'est et n'a pu être en aucune manière le résultat de sa captivité' (L.P., 20, 133, f. 130). Whereof, I take it, the former contains the same percentage of truth as the latter of falsehood. Needless to say, Lowe exploits Montholon's 'remarkable observation' for all it is worth as an all-round justification, and with more or less discretion serves it up in some form or other in every one of the obituary epistles he indites through May and June—to Farquhar and Darling at Mauritius; Stürmer, Thornton, and Cunningham at Rio; Urmston at Canton; Bathurst and Goulburn, Torrens and Taylor at home; the Governors of Indian Presidencies; Lord Hastings at Calcutta, etc. To the last he makes a *naïf* observation: 'Lord Bathurst's letter [of sympathy with Napoleon] to me contained the following remark, "His Majesty cannot now hold out any expectation of a removal." Your Lordship will judge of the *magical effect* which the word *now* must have produced, had the disorder been curable' (L.P., 20, 133, f. 267).

A final word as to the rôle ascribed to the liver in retarding the death, by the adherence of its left lobe to the ulcerated stomach at the point of perforation. Forsyth makes the downright assertion that 'it is a very remarkable fact that *it was owing to*

money which was left to him out of his vanished splendour. He kept only about 4,500 napoleons in gold, of which 4,000 were given in deposit on board, and served to defray the cost of the books he had asked for on the *Northumberland* and also the first expenses at St. Helena for food and

that organ that life was preserved so long, etc.' The original manuscript ran: 'It is a very remarkable fact that the state of that organ . . .' (L.P., 20,133, f. 156). As 'state' could only mean *diseased* state, and that would have played too much into the hands of the partisans of the 'liver theory,' the above turn was given to the phrase. The liver, whether 'enlarged' or merely 'larger than natural,' was obviously contaminated at the point of contact with the schirrous stomach, and Rutledge deposes as much (L.P., 20,133, f. 159). On the whole the organ was 'sound,' though the reservation above rather reminds one of the curate's egg! Then Forsyth proceeds to quote Dr. Shortt's note: 'Had the edges of the ulcer which penetrated the coats of the stomach near the pylorus not firmly adhered to the liver, death would have taken place much sooner, as part of the contents of the stomach would have escaped into the abdomen.' By 'abdomen' Shortt means the peritoneal cavity. Arnott says virtually the same thing, with, however, a prudent 'perhaps' (L.P., 20,157, f. 34). There is a doubt, of course, as to this prolongation of life. No one will deny that in the *final* stage of the illness the adherent liver did serve as a 'stopper' and retarded dissolution; but for the part it played, peritonitis would have been set up, and in all likelihood speedily accounted for the Patient. Such adhesions which are bound to occur are, unnatural though they be, nature's intelligent way of circumscribing infection. But, if you go back to the early stages of the disease, who knows but what nature, had it not been for the physiological handicap of this morbid and abnormal adherence (which was of old standing, and must have formed when the inflammatory process commenced in the walls of the stomach) might not well have put forth greater power than it did to reduce the rate of the inevitable progress of the schirrous affection, and so retarded the onset of that final stage, which, though more swiftly fatal *in itself*, would thus have followed upon more protracted preliminaries—in other words, the Patient might, by the calendar, have from first to last lived longer. It is six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. What one objects to is Forsyth's italicized cocksureness, which springs from ignorance. The more men know the more they doubt, be it in physic, in star-gazing, in print-collecting, or aught else. In the Great

other immediate necessities.¹ The silver plate which we broke up at St. Helena and which weighed 87,300 frs. in silver was utilized for the same purpose, and this whilst the British Government expended some £20,000 *per annum*. One can thus form an idea of Napoleon's present position, now that he has not any more money or silver plate and is wholly dependent upon a Hudson Lowe, or a Reade, or a Balcombe and Company, whom no one can control, and who are, in fact, the only persons at St. Helena who are cognizant of what goes on at Longwood. Verily my brain reels as I think of it all. Let us proceed to the farewell scene on board the *Northumberland*.

The officers of the suite had begged the Emperor to comprise amongst the twelve domestics allowed him those of their number who could not follow him in their

Emperor's own words on this very subject of medicine : ' Corvisart doutait souvent et ne satisfaisait pas toujours à mes questions. Horeau ne doutait de rien et expliquait tout. Le premier était un savant médecin, le second un ignorant ' (*Journal*, i. 439).

And to apply, in fine, that dubiety to his own dread malady, men were assured, when he died, that 'cancer was hereditary' (*Morning Chronicle*, July 6, 12, 21, 1821, etc.); presently, it was the 'taint' that was certainly transmitted; later still, it became the 'liability' to that taint; and now, ninety years after, comes the Report of the Cancer Research Fund, drawn up with phraseological salvos that would have made Lowe himself green with envy, which establishes, after long experiments with mice, that 'it may be premature to conclude with certainty that the occurrence of cancer in a recent ancestor enhances the liability of the offspring to develop cancer': the authors of which, on Napoleon's showing, are very great *savants* indeed. Moreover, when all analogies are allowed for, men are not mice, though Burns bracketed them together.

¹ The writer is purposely wide of the mark. Besides the millions entrusted to Laffitte and others, Napoleon had with him some 350,000 francs in gold, which was not shared out, but secreted in the clothing of the domestics. Then there was Hortense's diamond necklace concealed in Las Cases' belt. Piontowski must have known all this, but, writing as he did in 1817, he chose rather the pious fraud than any disclosure which might have led to further vexations for the Captive.

true capacity ; but it was not in Admiral Lord Keith's power to acquiesce in such an arrangement. I am persuaded that he would have willingly given his consent if he could have seen his way to so doing ; and it is through his kindly intercession that I very shortly afterwards obtained the permission to join the Emperor at St. Helena. Why can he not once again do me the same service to-day, if Napoleon, that is, must still drag out his miserable fate an appreciable space of time ? Only with my dying breath shall I lose the hope of seeing him released from his barren rock for the happiness of Europe ! The evils that since his banishment have fallen upon almost every country in Europe show only too plainly the need therefor.

We were informed that we could go on board the *Northumberland* once more, to take leave of Napoleon. The Emperor first summoned the superior officers, to whom he gave certificates signed by himself, and then the other officers. There were in the outer cabin Lord Lowther, whom I have met here in London at the Alien Office with Mr. Beckett, Under-Secretary of State, and Mr. Lyttelton, who had volunteered to transmit ashore the letters of the officers and the ladies who were to accompany the Emperor. The greatest sadness reigned on all sides. Napoleon alone seemed unaffected. He called us into the saloon, conversed with every one of us in turn, asked us if we wished to return to France, and said to me personally, as I entreated him once again to take me with him : ' I have no duty. [? I am under no obligation to you.] I requested them to let you come, and met with a refusal.' Ct. Bertrand likewise assured me that he had done everything in his power to get them to grant me leave to proceed to St. Helena, and that he was very sorry that the steps he had taken had not con-

duced to a better result. He tendered to us subaltern officers' certificates dictated by the Emperor and signed by himself as Grand-Marshal: I append a copy of mine. Then Rovigo and Lallemand were sent back on board the *Bellerophon*, and the rest of us on the *Eurotas*. The *Northumberland* set sail for St. Helena, and we all returned to Plymouth, where we were not allowed to hold any communication with the two Generals. A week later we heard that the officers of the suite would be removed to Malta. Maingaud, the surgeon, and fourteen domestics, as well as M. de Ste. Catherine, the page, who had obtained permission to rejoin his family at the Martinique, went on to Portsmouth by the *Bellerophon*, and then to Havre. Rovigo and Lallemand were transferred to the *Eurotas*, which took them to Malta. It was only at the time that I was informed that Lord Keith's intercession on my behalf had been crowned with success, and that I was free to follow Napoleon to St. Helena. I was transferred to the *St. George*, flagship of Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, to await the departure of some vessel for the Island. I should lay myself open to the charge of ingratitude were I not to acknowledge here the generosity and kindly feeling with which I was treated on the flagship, as well as on the *Cormorant*, which took me to my destination, and I may add, too, at St. Helena during the term of Sir G. Cockburn's custodianship. The lady I was betrothed to in France visited me on the *St. George* a few days before sailing, and as I was unable to obtain leave for her to accompany me, we were married on the flagship. The peculiarity of my position at the time is sufficient excuse for my taking that step without awaiting the Emperor's authorization.¹

¹ Though the statement strikes one as self-important, the reason for it is clear. The Emperor had requested that Piont-

Admiral Duckworth and the English officers at Plymouth treated me with the greatest kindness, as well as the Captain of the *Cormorant*, in which I sailed for St. Helena.

Upon his reaching the Island the Emperor had lodged at Briars at Mr. Balcombe's, where, for lack of room, his only companion was Las Cases; there was only a small parlour at their disposal. The Generals and the ladies of the suite were housed at Jamestown. The removal to Longwood had been effected some days before my arrival.

Admiral Cockburn sent Captain Ross of the *Northumberland* on board the *Cormorant* as soon as we had cast anchor, towards five o'clock in the afternoon. He told me that the Emperor had been informed of my coming and that I should land as soon as he sent for me; but that in any case I should not be allowed to do so before the morrow, seeing that all communication with the sea stopped at sunset, always at 6 p.m.,¹ and that the remaining space of time would not suffice to procure the Emperor's authorization. Mr. O'Meara, Napoleon's English surgeon, was charged to apprise him of my arrival. The Emperor said to Bertrand: 'Is this Piontkowski the

kowski might come with him and had been refused. In reversing that refusal and proceeding to St. Helena, the Pole doubtless considered that he was carrying out the Emperor's wish, and looked upon himself already as officially a member of the suite under military discipline. Nothing had been said about a wife, however; and, given the accommodation at Longwood, she certainly would have been *de trop*.

¹ Approximate. The latitude being 16 degrees south, there is an appreciable difference of almost exactly an hour between winter and summer. At the June solstice the sun sets at St. Helena at 5.30, and at the December at 6.30, within a minute or so. Piontkowski reached the island just after the longest day and on casting anchor was—on his own showing—an hour and a half on the right side of the gun. As a fact, the *Cormorant* came to a little earlier than he states.

same officer who followed me to Elba, and who wanted to be included amongst my domestics in order to come hither?' and when the Grand-Marshal replied that it was, he told O'Meara to request the Admiral that I might be sent at once to Longwood : but the sun being set, I had perforce to remain aboard till the following day. Sir George Cockburn greeted me most kindly, and gave me a horse of his to ride to Longwood, and accompanied me himself as far as Hutt's Gate. Here Ct. Bertrand came out and spoke to me on the road, and told me that the Emperor had already awaited me the previous evening, and that he himself would not ask me to alight and enter, lest it should put off a single moment the satisfaction I should have in seeing Napoleon. Mr. Glover, the Admiral's secretary, came as far as Longwood with me. Here I found General and Madame de Montholon, General Baron Gourgaud, and Ct. Las Cases and his son Emmanuel at luncheon. The Emperor summoned me to his bedroom ; he was alone, and greeted me with a kindliness which surpassed my most exalted hopes.¹ He asked me

¹ For an amusing specimen of the unblushingly apocryphal 'light artillery' of St. Helena, compare Tyder's account : 'On the 10th (*sic*) I was witness of an interesting scene. Colonel Pistowski, a young and brave officer who, according to the papers, had shown such a strong desire to follow Bonaparte, arrived from Plymouth on the brig *Marsouin*. After having undergone a rigorous search, he was introduced to his Master by the Lieut.-Governor at a time when Napoleon was promenading with his whole Court. He gave one cry on seeing him, and stuttering a few words, threw himself into his arms. The ex-Emperor received his embraces with profound emotion. It reminded me of Friday finding Robinson in his desert Island' (*Bonaparte à Ste. Hélène*, p. 109). Verily, Tyder must have been the *expert* 'witness' of a certain aphoristic Judge !

Mrs. Abell is more veracious though still rhetorical : 'The Emperor retired early this evening. He had been in low spirits since receiving his visitor. . . . He proved to be a Count Piontkowski, a Polish officer, who had formerly held a commission in "la grande armée," and had landed in the morning, having

for news of his Brother Joseph, who had remained in concealment in the environs of Rochefort, and examined me in detail with regard to all the members of his Family. I had to confess that I was in entire ignorance of their fate, seeing that I was never allowed to land at Plymouth and that the newspapers had made no mention of them. He walked with me alone in the garden afterwards, and requested me to repeat to him all that I had heard related of him, whether good or evil. He added, 'They who conceal from me the evil spoken of me do me no service at all: hence speak with perfect candour.' I obeyed him implicitly and repeated all that I had either heard or read of him. He did not lose patience. Sometimes he would exclaim, 'Ho! Ho!' and at others, 'That is not true! Where there is a grain of truth in an evil report, it stings; but inventions *à la* Pradt affect me no more than when it is stated that I caused the Captain of a small English brig to be murdered!'

I was, at this time, still labouring under the impression that the English Government had only momentarily yielded to the necessity of making so evil a return for the noble trust that the Emperor had extended to them in his voluntary surrender. The generosity of that Government towards my own person and the courtesy and kindness shown me by officers and civilians alike had seemed to me such ample justification for the flattering ideas I cherished with regard to the Emperor, that I

with great difficulty obtained permission to follow his Master into exile 'to share with him the vulture and the rock. . . .' A long interview took place between them, which apparently excited painful reminiscences in the mind of the exile. I asked him afterwards about his visitor; he seemed to have little personal recollection of him, but appeared gratified with his devotion, and observed he had proved himself a faithful servant by following him into exile' (*Recollections of Napoleon*, Ed., 1844, pp. 85-86).

already fancied Napoleon installed once more at Paris and at peace with England. Hence I reached Longwood filled with an enthusiasm for the English Government and Nation alike, and I spoke to the Emperor without the slightest reserve, just as if I was certain that he shared my sentiments : and, notwithstanding the nature of the situation in which he found himself at the time, and which I was totally unaware of, he was not at all put out by my candour, and he observed : ' Such conduct does honour to the English ; you have deserved it by your attachment to my person.' He conversed with me in this way for more than four hours, and then told me that I must go and call on Ct. Bertrand and his family, and return in time for dinner at eight o'clock. He added : ' I will give you a seat at my table.' I was confounded by this act of kindly condescension, especially as I knew that the Emperor had never bestowed that distinction upon a subaltern officer, and that, at Elba, only Gen. Drouot had dined with him during the last few months of his stay in that island.¹ Circumstances led soon to a change in this arrangement, and I messed with the Generals at luncheon and dined with Poppleton and O'Meara.² I was assigned a tent to myself for my

¹ ' Le Général Drouot mangera avec moi ' (Pélissier : *Régistre de l'Île d'Elbe*, p. 182).

² This is so clear and so corroborated that the following item might seem puzzling at first sight :

' *Messes of the Establishment*.—*Six* dinner tables : Bonaparte's, Bertrand's, Piontkowski's, Poppleton and O'Meara's, Upper Servants, Under Servants. *Nine* Breakfast Tables : Bonaparte's, Bertrand's, Montholon's, Las Cases', Gourgaud's, Piontkowski's, Poppleton and O'Meara's, Upper Servants, Under Servants (C.O., 247. 5, and 247. 8). The truth is that the amicable arrangement above did not continue until the end of Piontkowski's stay. One of the first things Lowe did was to cut down the allowance for the Poppleton table to £1 a day (*i.e.*, 5s. in England—L.P., 20, 123, f. 179), and it is from that moment that the Pole begins to complain of 'starvation'—the process probably became more

I WAS WAITING!

OCTOBER 15, 1815—OCTOBER 15, 1840.

**From an unsigned aquatint, after a lithograph by
F. Grenier, in the author's possession.**



70 MILL ALBANY, N.Y.

quarters, like General Baron Gourgaud.¹ I am almost ashamed to enter into the particulars of these dispositions that were so flattering for me and to which I had not the faintest idea of aspiring. I knew no other ambition than that of continuing my service to the Emperor in whatsoever capacity might seem good to him and, whilst making myself useful to him, occasionally setting eyes upon the Greatest Man of all time. But to make you understand aright the Emperor's nature and the goodness of his heart, I must tell you that his attentions to me went so far as to despatch M. Marchand, his head valet, to my tent at 7 a.m. on the morrow of my arrival at Longwood, with orders to inquire whether I was well provided with change of linen and to let me have all that I might want out of his own wardrobe. The Emperor summoned me into the garden and questioned me upon the incidents of my journey, and told me that I should take up the duties of equerry under the orders

acute as time went on, and he had a table assigned to himself. In like manner, though on other grounds, O'Meara parted company with Blakeney towards the end of his sojourn, and dined by himself, or, more often, at Balcombe's, where he met his fellow-surgeon Stokoe. A common bond united them. O'Meara had been rejected by Miss Breame, the daughter of the Company's Farmer, who married Balcombe's partner, the Postmaster Cole (L.P., 20,121, f. 233), whilst Stokoe had been non-suited by Balcombe's own offspring (L.P., 20,140, f. 53). The least the Purveyor could do to make the spited swains 'laugh it away' was to tickle their palate. And his table was excellent.

¹ At first: more substantial accommodation followed later with sundry changes. 'Montholon has at last evacuated his rooms and preparations are making in order to convert the large apartment into a library and the two small ones destined for Piontkowski, for which purpose a window is breaking out to windward of the closet and the door of communication between it and the large room is to be built up. Piontkowski's present room is to be made an office of for the confectionery, as the smoke of the present one destroys the furniture in the house' (L.P., 20,115, f. 341).

of General Gourgaud, who was in charge of the stables. He said that he had no money, but that he could dispose of the funds that had been taken in deposit on board the *Bellerophon*, and that I must instruct Ct. Bertrand to place me on the pay-sheet at a salary of a thousand francs—£40—*per* quarter, which was about the sixtieth part of the sum entrusted to Balcombe and the moiety of what he was able to allow Ct. Montholon, Ct. Las Cases and Baron Gourgaud.¹ He added: 'One must renounce all that tends to make life at all endurable. This is a barbarous country—the island of fogs and clouds. They have imposed upon me restrictions which have no common sense, and which sunder Longwood from the rest of St. Helena as the Island is cut off from the remainder of the universe.' The greatness of soul and strength of character shown by Napoleon in his endurance of his fate would render him worthy of the admiration of the whole world, even if his life's record, glorious beyond all others, had not already gained it. It is very difficult to form a correct notion of the trials he is subjected to and the obstacles he has to surmount. I feel sure that he is

¹ Extract from Balcombe's Account, countersigned by Bertrand:

'Disbursements made by Mr. Balcombe out of the fund of 4,000 Napoleons:

Firstly—£280 as follows:

Ct. Las Cases	..	..	£80
Gen. Montholon	..	..	£80
Gen. Gourgaud	..	..	£80
Cpt. Puntowiska (<i>sic</i>)	..	..	£40
			<hr/> £280

'Longwood,

'Ap. 17, 1816.'

(L.P., 20, 115, f. 64, and C.O., 247. 5.)

Another copy is dated April 18, and gives Piontkowski in error only £20 (C.O., 247. 13).

the only man in the world who, placed in such a situation, can make himself respected by a Governor invested with an illimitable power and instinct with the ill-will to abuse it, can earn the admiration of the officers of the garrison and the inhabitants alike, and can endure separation from his wife and son and his whole family, for whom he cherishes the tenderest sentiments. The Emperor's views on family feeling may be illustrated by the following incident: A Mr. Urmston, one of the principal English agents in China, was invited to luncheon at Longwood, on his way back to England.¹ The Emperor conversed with him on the subject of that distant country and elicited many interesting details, and was presented by his chance guest with a copy of an English translation of the Chinese penal code. Napoleon had it explained to him and paid heed to the fact that it con-

¹ 'On Gen. Bonaparte's return from his ride on Sunday morning, Mr. Balcombe and Mr. Urmston (the gentlemen you gave a pass to) breakfasted with him' (Poppleton to Lowe, May 7, 1816, L.P., 20,115, f. 124). J. B. Urmston, Supercargo at Canton and Macao, spent quite a little time with Cockburn at St. Helena. He greeted Lowe on his arrival and saw a good deal of him at Plantation. Lowe, who had a genius for systematizing his private intelligences—to put it that way—gave Urmston a kind of roving commission as anti-Napoleonic informer for the Far East, much as he utilized Farquhar for the Indian Ocean, Ellis for the Cape, and Cunninghame and Thornton for South America. (Strangely, he seems to have had no confidant of that sort for India, which, at this time, being more enlightened, was far less bitter against the fallen Potentate.) There are a good many letters from Urmston to Lowe, mostly distinguished by that truculence which residence in the East instilled into the official Englishman, witness Raffles and Hook. In one he informs the Governor that 'bets run high in the United States on Napoleon's escape,' refers to the Followers as the 'French vagabonds at Longwood,' and to the amiable, if weak, Joseph and his Court, consisting of some of the most distinguished soldiers and statesmen of the Empire, as 'the French Party in America, composed of the completest gang of vagabonds which could well grace a country' (L.P., 20,120, ff. 308-314). He must have meant *disgrace*!

tained exceptionally severe penalties for those who fail in due respect to even remote relations, who neglect the means or let slip the opportunities of making their lives as happy as possible, and who frequent society within a certain fixed period of the death of their kindred. Having listened, he observed : ' The Chinese are more civilized than we Europeans : such penalties, however severe, are just ; for those who disregard the primal duties of nature towards their own flesh and blood can never make good citizens.' This devotion to his Family, which Napoleon manifests constantly, must, I am certain, cause him to feel that separation, without even exchange of letters, more acutely, if possible, than the loss of his Throne itself. Yet he exerts himself to enhearten by his example and his courage the ladies and the officers of his retinue, who have sacrificed their kindred, their fortunes, and their rightful expectations of all that can make life agreeable, in order to share with him his lot and his sufferings and undergo for his sake miseries and privations¹ such

¹ More than once does Piontkowski complain of privations, and to Croad and Nagle he declares that he is ' half-starved.'

' Semi-starvation ' means what you will ; and from the tabulated statements of Gorrequer, Ibbetson, and others, one would gather that the Exiles really had small cause for complaint on the score of supplies. The fact is that, like the years of Egypt, the quarters of Longwood varied considerably ; and it was generally the lean cows that furnished the beef ! Though the quarterly contracts might have been the same, the way they were carried out differed materially with the season, the purveyor, the middleman, the Cape sailings, etc. As Piontkowski himself says later, it was less the quantity than the quality of foodstuffs and meats which left so much to be desired, and the careless conveyance of them to Longwood. The official and impartial statement of affairs in March, 1818, throws a light upon the poor quality of provisions and the damaged (*avariés*) condition they often were in (L.P., 20, 121, f. 256). Pierron, on taking up the stewardship after Cipriani's death, draws up an interesting table in which he divides the Captivity down to date into four periods : during the first three the meats have been of second and

as none can have any conception of. Even the few domestics who are left him, whilst wholly devoted, are well aware that they are indispensable to him and might anon be tempted to set a higher price upon their services, were it not that Napoleon, though moved by a touching kindness towards even their humble selves, knows how to manage them by the strength and inflexibility of his character. Witness the incident of the Persian manservant. I will relate it with some fulness.

The four principal domestics had a table to them-

third-rate quality; during the last only have they been really good (L.P., 20,122, f. 32). At regular intervals Gorrequer or Reade is called upon to inquire into the just complaints made against Barker, Fowler, Balcombe, Breame or Ibbetson. Forsyth gives us the most comprehensive of such investigations in August, 1820, when every single item pretty well had fallen off, and '*il falloit remonter la machine*,' as Montholon puts it (iii. 490). These official admonitions did good for a few days, or weeks, and the backsliding would start afresh. The bread, for example, would be 'good for a few days and then bad again' (L.P., 20,132, f. 78). The quality of that bread was a chronic scandal. For over eighteen months Napoleon refused to touch it. Reade made repeated inquiries into it (L.P., 20,128, f. 370, etc.). The baker Carr's justification was both curious and convenient: 'You can't tell what flour is like till you bake it' (L.P., 20,207, f. 190). Or bread till you break it—and up went the batch to Longwood! They were not much better off for butter: 'Have the goodness to inform the Governor that no fresh Butter has been sent to Longwood House since April 1st' (Lutyens to Gorrequer, August 10, 1820, L.P., 20,130, f. 343). With the Company's Farm just round the corner, one might have expected better things. Then there were the depredations, and very, pretty, indeed, must the pickings have been! 'I examined the Longwood Cart yesterday and found a few inconsiderable things in it, but upon examining the Carter's room (a private of the 66th) we found ninety-two pounds in cash. I fear there has been a complete system of plundering. I have confined the man' (Reade to Lowe, February 22, 1818, L.P., 20,121, f. 224). Another 'Tommy' was found with twenty pounds of Longwood candles in his possession (L.P., 20,207, f. 76). Again: 'He [Montholon] then took me [Gorrequer] to the larder outside the House, where he pointed out to me the broken bars of the Venetian shutters,

selves, served with the Emperor's own dessert and wine. They were M. Marchand, head valet ; M. Cipriani, majordomo ; M. Pierron, chief steward ; and M. Alix St. Denis, first *chasseur*. The remainder of the French-speaking servants were Noverraz, a Swiss, second *chasseur* ; Santini, a Corsican, usher of the Cabinet ; the two brothers Archambault, grooms ; Le Page, chef ; Rousseau, silver steward ; and Gentilini, an Elban, head footman. These comprised the second service table ; and they had asked out of politeness a French maid of Comtesse de Montholon to take her meals with them. The assistant cooks, footmen and grooms, who were English soldiers or sailors, and whose rations were supplied by the Government, formed the third table, along with the private servants of the officers of the suite. Luncheon was timed for eleven o'clock, and dinner for as soon after eight as the Emperor's return to the saloon would allow : and he never remained more than twenty minutes at table. The

through which they were robbed every night, he said, if they omitted to gather everything up in the middle of the floor in the evening. He conceived the sentinels must be concerned, for it could not be robbed without their knowledge ' (L.P., 20, 121, f. 402). We generally term them Venetian *blinds* : ' shutters ' was indeed a misnomer ! Those provisions piled up pell-mell ' in the middle of the floor,' and circumvallated no doubt with sops of rat-poison, must have been a sight for the gods ! Once again, the pity and the *shame* of it ! When they were not knaves they were fools or drunkards. We have seen how the milk fared at the hands of ' the boy ' : this of Barker's man, ' The Person sent to-day [with the beef] is inclined to Drink and very little gets into his Head ; so that it will be necessary to give a caution on that head ' (*sic*) (L.P., 20, 130, f. 265). Drink, with us, like the Devil, still retains the capital letter. At St. Helena they must have printed it in Old English !

To sum up : such best as was went to Napoleon's table ; the Generals had the next pick ; the *rebut* was sent to Piontkowski, the Surgeon, and the Orderly ; and if, say, two Deadwood pigeons are officially supplied for three diners, and one is all skin and the other is stolen, what manner of a meal will they make ?

foregoing particulars are needed to understand what follows. Colonel Skelton, Lieut.-Governor of the Island, who left when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, had recommended a Persian man-servant to General Montholon, and he being in charge of the Emperor's household, owing to Bertrand's residing at Hutt's Gate, had seated this individual at the *second* table of the French domestics, forgetting that the private servants of the other general officers were entitled only to the *third*, and that the lady's-maid was there only by a special favour. The Frenchmen grew quite angry at this unwarranted move on the part of Montholon and declared that they would rather each dine by himself, or even quit the Emperor's service, than be compelled to keep the Persian at their table. They grew so excited over it that the disturbance became general and reached the ears of the Emperor, as neither the major-domo nor General Montholon himself could settle the matter. Napoleon summoned Santini, whom he playfully called the leader of the revolted, and with him Noverraz, and told them that he was very sensible of the devotion they had always shown him in the past, and that he was certain that General Montholon did not mean anything by his action and would not have seated the Persian at their table if he had thought it would not be agreeable to them ; but that they were in the wrong in trying to force Ct. Montholon to remove him, instead of making more modest and becoming remonstrances. He spoke to them with the greatest kindness, but plainly said that he would never allow anarchy to reign in his Household, and added that as a penalty for their inconsiderate behaviour the Persian should remain at their table. This little lesson was needed, for already on several occasions the general officers had been shown but scant respect. The reprovèd servants thought things

over, and though they were one and all faithful and devoted to Napoleon and would sooner have been wanting towards him when on the Throne than at St. Helena, they seemed to lose their heads to the point of laying down the law and declared once again that they had rather leave the Imperial service than retain the Persian at their table. The Emperor reproached Montholon upon his lack of consideration for his trusted retainers, but at the same time gave positive orders that every one of them at the second table must be seated at luncheon at eleven o'clock sharp, with the Persian, the subject, and Santini, the instigator, of the disturbance next to each other. Every man's account was made out; those who failed to put in an appearance should be dismissed at twelve o'clock; and any further observations upon the matter were strictly forbidden. I was in a state of painful anxiety, for I knew that the Emperor was resolved to live without a single attendant rather than that any should slight his authority after he had condescended to speak to them in person; on the other hand, I could see their excitement growing with the approach of the luncheon hour, and I feared what the upshot might be. But, fortunately, they all returned to the path of duty and were all seated at table a quarter of an hour earlier than usual, with the Persian next to Santini.¹

The English sailors whom Admiral Cockburn had sent as extra servants to Longwood, and who had been replaced by soldiers at Sir H. Lowe's arrival, left the Emperor's service with tears in their eyes. They begged they might be allowed to retain his livery in remembrance of their having served so great a man, and they

¹ This storm in the 'servantorial' teacup is not referred to by any of the Diarists, though they all mention Lowe's arrest of the Persian, whom they term variously Parsee, Lascar, Indian, etc.

all averred that they set more value upon these mementoes than upon their wages—£40 *per annum*.¹ The Emperor

¹ The articles of agreement stipulate for £40 *per annum*, paid quarterly, one suit of clothes, and six months' notice on either side. They are dated 'Longwood, 16 January, 1816,' and are signed by Montholon and eleven Englishmen, five of whom make their mark, and four of whom left in the course of the following March (L.P., 20,115, f. 8, and f. 237). The others were removed in May by Lowe after a short 'reprieve,' and replaced by soldiers of the 66th. Cockburn thought the agreement above, or, indeed, any private contract made by the French at Longwood, unofficial and non-binding unless ratified by the signature of the King's Officer in charge of them: which assimilates prisoners with outlaws and justifies Napoleon's taunt that Lowe wanted to come 'between me and my valet.' Like Lowe, Bathurst, in his despatch of June 26, prefers soldiers to sailors, seeing that the latter are 'peculiarly adapted to assist in an attempt to escape and may be wrought upon by fair words' (L.P., 20,115, f. 236). Another slur upon the First Line! But Bathurst on the Navy is always good. There is a strangely modern ring about this to Lowe in April, 1818: 'An attempt has, I agree with you, been made to make the Navy dissatisfied. Your having superseded one Admiral and differed with another was sufficient to move the jealous spirit of the profession; but your good understanding with the present Admiral and attention to the Naval Officers on the Station will, I am sure, bring all matters round: but you must let the Navy have their talk, for on shore they cannot do without it. It may be in a wrong sense sometimes, but it will not always be so, unless you attempt to contest' (L.P., 20,122, f. 198). Lowe's 'understanding' with Plampin—from sinister motives, says M. Frémeaux—was so good that he quite palliates the little irregularity we know: 'It was known before Admiral Plampin's arrival here he was bringing out with him an unmarried female, with whom, however, he had been cohabiting for upwards of sixteen years (Lowe to Bathurst, April 9, 1818, L.P., 20,122, f. 50). 'Female'—*le mot juste*! and the more rooted the sin the less the scandal, apparently. Still, Lowe cannot forbear criticism: 'The Admiral is extremely well disposed; his sentiments most decided with respect to Bonaparte and his Followers; but his very retired mode of life, apprehension of responsibility, and his great intimacy with, if not obligation to, Mr. Balcombe [from whom he leased "Briars"] have tended to involve him in some very painful dilemmas' (L.P., 20,207, f. 148). Plampin, on his side, espouses no less readily all Lowe's likes and dislikes, especially as regards O'Meara, whom he dismisses as follows: 'I pray you to understand I wish entirely to have done with the *Dirty Vagabond*'

acquiesced in their demand and sent besides three gold napoleons to every man, to drink his health with. These good fellows tarried at Longwood another fortnight by leave of Admiral Cockburn and brought their

(L.P., 20,133, f. 359). When his officers regret, after the Irishman's departure, that they have seen so much of him, the Admiral replies that 'they had long been warned by him as to the character of Mr. O'Meara, whom they must have besides observed had never been invited *at his House*' (L.P., 20,124, f. 88). One half wishes Barry had been there to retort it must have been due to a lapse of the Mistress! Though Plampin might have rejoined; for he has his lighter touches too, and he soon catches the Bathurst manner. When Stokoe visited Napoleon he found he had had vertigo and an alarming rush of blood to the head, and drew out a bulletin accordingly. Months afterwards, Plampin, sceptical to the end, was recalling the visit and sneering at 'the dying Bonaparte' (L.P., 20,127, f. 283). Like Poppleton with his one pun and Montchenu with his single saw, Plampin gives us an amusing political pronouncement ere he departs—on the Spanish Uprising: 'I admire the moderation of the Spaniards and think our *muy amado Fernando Septimo* may consider himself very fortunate to find his *titte de veau* upon his shoulders and permitted to accept the Constitution!' (L.P., 20,130, f. 133). One single breeze, too, occurred between the Governor and his pet Admiral. In January, 1820, young Doveton, whilst in command of Banks' Battery, fires a warning shot in front of an American vessel whilst the Windward Cruiser, *H.M.S. Menai*, is by her. Plampin resents this as a 'great disrespect to the Flag' and charges Lowe rather curtly to 'prevent the repetition of a similar insult' (L.P., 20,129, f. 53). [Which 'insult,' Balmain deposes, was offered to the *Newcastle* as she came to: who knows but what that trifle light as air—if a 25-pound shot can be so termed—may not have been the first thing to set Sir Pulteney against the Governor?] Lowe does not see it in the same light, and exonerates Doveton, and his old 'Malcolmania' is once again aroused: 'What most struck me in the Admiral's letter . . . is the different style to any of his former communications. I have the certain knowledge, however, that an active spirit has been at work to excite him and to make the Navy in general discontented at the Regulations in force on this Island as affecting their authority. The Navy in general, I fear, are too apt to consider my situation here purely as a military one' (Lowe to Bathurst, L.P., 20,129, f. 121). And the Governor proceeds to revendicate his paramountcy and political responsibility. As Malcolm felt, the Navy had its full share also; and

three gold pieces to General Montholon, with the request that he might take charge of them for the time being, as they were afraid they might go spending them, and they wanted to show Napoleon's portrait to their friends at home.

The sailors from the *Northumberland*,¹ who worked at Longwood under Mr. Cooper, the ship's carpenter (whom the Emperor presented with a gold snuff-box bearing his monogram), always showed the greatest consideration for the Emperor. The spectacle of fallen greatness moved them to such respect that the most absolute quiet reigned invariably amongst all these men encamped for so long within a few steps of the Emperor's dwelling, and

Bathurst, in his less flippant moments, is of like opinion: 'I am strongly impressed with the idea that very much depends upon the Navy' (Forsyth, iii. 251). That Service jealousy pervaded all ranks, and the D.A.G. is especially *d cheval sur le protocole*: 'Inclosed is the Proof Copy of the Additional Regulations. I think you ought to style yourself "Excellency," particularly as the Admiral is in it' (Reade to Lowe, L.P., 20, 207, f. 236). Even Orderly Officers are not immune from it. When the visitor to Longwood is an Army man or a civilian he is graciously done the honours; when he is a sailor he is eyed askance: 'It appears that Lutyens treated them [two R.N. Captains] very haughtily. Their statements show the necessity of his wearing his uniform' (L.P., 20, 132, f. 14).

Of the last Admiral, Lambert, one can only say that his relations with the Governor were not so much cordial as correct, though his own flag-captain, Brown, fell foul of the latter, and wrote him a couple of 'impertinent letters.' He was jealous of the exclusive information Arnott was giving to Lowe during the Last Illness, and spoke to him on the subject. The Governor replied with a polite non-committal, and the Admiral then 'declared his most absolute indifference as to what became of Gen. Bonaparte, so long as he did not make his escape, and should have nothing to require except to be able to satisfy himself of the identity of his Person when dead—for the due discharge of his own duty' (Lowe to Bathurst, April 24, 1821, L.P., 20, 140, f. 109). For Lambert's repellent cynicism, see my long note to his *Journal* (Appendix D).

¹ See Log of *Northumberland*, Appendix C.

we never heard of any excess or breach of discipline on their part. Napoleon, who can rightly appraise merit wheresoever he may meet with it, had 8,000 francs (the tenth of his remaining fortune) placed at Admiral Cockburn's disposal for distribution amongst the crew of the *Northumberland*: I am under the impression that Sir George thought it advisable to await his Government's authorization before carrying out the Imperial desire. I have observed the same enthusiasm on the faces of these honest tars, when the Emperor put them some question to see if they could understand his English, as I have witnessed often at Reviews when Napoleon inquired of some old veteran if he was not present at such and such a battle.

Here let me enter into a personal explanation.

I soon noticed, during the first week of my stay at Longwood, that the really extraordinary marks of the Emperor's good-will towards me (who could lay claim to no greater merit than that of sharing with the other members of his Suite their admiration of the Great Man) were not looked upon with a favourable eye by the Generals, more especially as the good opinions which I held of the English nation, and was at no pains to conceal, led them to fear that my presence in their midst might become detrimental to the best interests of their Imperial Master. I cannot blame them if the devotion they bore Napoleon rendered rather suspicious in their eyes the permission that I, and I alone, had obtained to rejoin the Emperor. Added to this was the fact that my unexpected good fortune had so dazzled me¹ that I had forgotten what marks of respect and submission a subaltern officer owed to the Generals and especially to the personal friends of Napoleon. Without actually wanting towards them, I had undoubtedly neglected them, and it was my own

¹ *M'avait tellement ébloui.*

fault if they did not look upon me in a very favourable light. In proof whereof, I once overheard, when in my tent, a conversation which quite opened my eyes and revealed to me the fact that the Generals held the privilege of their admission to the Emperor's dinner-table as an indemnity for all the sacrifices they had made for him, and that this favour ceased to be such as soon as they had to share it with a subaltern officer. Count Las Cases added that the distance between myself and themselves was so enormous that the rank of Colonel which the Emperor might bestow upon me would make no difference at all. So I then and there decided to speak to General Montholon and explain to him that I had come to St. Helena in the hope of being of use to the Emperor, but never by any means to stir up unpleasantness and awkwardness for anybody concerned. I requested him to give me a seat at a service table, or to let me mess with Poppleton and O'Meara. Ct. Montholon seemed pleased with my explanation and said that only the Generals were meant to dine at the Emperor's table, Ct. Las Cases as Chamberlain and Councillor of State having the rank of Lieut.-General, and Emmanuel Las Cases being a mere child who did not count at all. He promised to give me a reply, but did not refer to the matter again the whole of that day ; and in these circumstances, of course, I did not care to return to the Emperor's table at night. Two more days went by in this way without Montholon's coming to any decision concerning me ; and it was this uncertainty and silence on his part which gave rise to the report, bruited about, that Napoleon had given me a bad reception ; whereas, on the contrary, it was his very excess of kindness and condescension which had caused the whole affair.¹ The Emperor, I

¹ Two unfamiliar testimonies will suffice. In a private letter, dated June 3, from a correspondent at St. Helena, anonymous,

repeat, had granted me a seat at his table : the above-mentioned dissensions occurred which led to a change ; and thenceforth I luncheoned in the saloon with the Generals, and dined with Poppleton and O'Meara. When the Emperor, who habitually sat down alone to the first meal, varied things a little by having it served under the tent in the garden, he almost always asked me to join him, and often, too, he gave me a special invitation to dinner.

The foregoing particulars shed so strong a light upon the internal arrangements of the Imperial household that, perhaps, I had better suppress them rather than compromise (*sic*) Las Cases, Montholon, and Gourgaud, although they deserve but small consideration in the matter. There is only too great a tendency abroad to place *their* blunders to the account of their Master, just as the errors of his Ministers and Generals have always been imputed to him in the past. One must have known

but obviously in the know, the rumour is disposed of as follows : ' The statement respecting the Polish Captain is equally false and most scandalous. Instead of Napoleon having turned his back upon him and asked Las Cases " who that man was ? " he received him in the most polite manner and conversed with him upwards of two hours. Immediately after this Napoleon despatched one of his suite to ask him what he stood in need of—money, clothes, linen ?—with directions, if he had none of the latter clean after so long a voyage, to furnish him with some of his own. To this was added an order for £40 or £50, which was immediately paid. He also had him to dinner for several days after ' (*Morning Chronicle*, July 24, 1816 ; *Times*, July 25, 1816).

And : ' This poor man [Piontkowski], after following Bonaparte here, is not admitted to his table entirely owing to the jealousy of the others. I believe it arose merely from Bonaparte's having walked with him for three hours the first day of his arrival at St. Helena. Montholon forbade him the table on the plea that none but general officers were to be admitted. They have contrived to persuade him that Capt. Piontikaioski (*sic*) came out as an English spy ' (From a letter of [Town-Major C.R.G.] Hodson, dated February 7, 1816, printed by Mr. Shorter).

the Emperor at Elba and at St. Helena and witnessed the *chicanes* wherewith he is surrounded to be able to judge him aright.

The limits established by Admiral Cockburn have been reduced.¹ Sir H. Lowe, in his Letter of October 7 last,

¹ The Limits appear to have originated not with Cockburn but with Colonel Wilkes. On Napoleon's arrival, the then Governor pointed out 'the expediency of his person being *seen* periodically, within as short periods as courtesy and humanity shall allow,' and he advises Cockburn to limit the Captive's range to Longwood and Deadwood Plain, north-west to the Alarm House, and south-west to Miss Mason's. He winds up with this pious opinion, which, in the light of all that was about to happen, was nothing less than sublime: 'I am persuaded there will be no ground of alarm so serious as that which shall result from our national kindness and humanity' (L.P., 20,114, f. 249). The only parallel is supplied by this other Plantation platitude: 'That civility and politeness which has always characterized the British Officer in the execution of his duty' (L.P., 20,128, f. 513). Especially Reade! Wilkes' authorship of the Limits was disputed, of all people, by Colonel Keating, who, in his letter of indignant self-defence to Greenwood, states that *he* suggested the Limits (L.P., 20,118, f. 297). One might suppose they were things to be proud of!

Much ink has flowed on this great question, and I will not add a drop to the statement of facts and opinions. But let me give, as bearing upon Lowe's petty curtailment of them, the *spirit* of the Limits. As I have said, Forsyth prints twice Bathurst's official despatch of January 1, 1818. This was accompanied by the customary private letter, which I am tempted to reproduce as a whole; but this will suffice: 'With respect to the Complaints made respecting the restrictions on the original Limits, there will be two questions perhaps pressed [in Parliament] in consequence of Bonaparte's statement; first, what reason had you for suspecting that he availed himself of his more extended Limits to form improper communications with the Inhabitants, if he never went out; secondly, why should you prohibit him from those places within the original Limits, to which he never went, as his never having gone there shews he could not have made a bad use of them? The Case, I take it, was this—you had various reasons for apprehending that there existed in Bonaparte and his Followers an Inclination to contract Intimacies with the Inhabitants which might prove prejudicial to the discharge of your duties, and that

gives it as a reason that the Emperor does not appear to require the space originally allotted to him, the whole of which he has never yet utilized for his outings since he (Sir H. L.) assumed the Governorship. He takes good care, however, to say nothing about any dangerous commerce with the inhabitants of the valley, whom we are stated by Lord Bathurst to have attempted to suborn, as such accusations could most easily be disproved on the spot. But it is impossible, on the other hand, to refute here in England the wind-borne stories that are current, since the Government deprived themselves of the means of knowing the real situation of the Emperor by placing him entirely within the discretionary power of a man like Sir H. Lowe. The speech of Lord Bathurst¹

the original Limits were too extended for you to have a satisfactory observation of what was going on,' and so forth (L.P., 20, 121, f. 3). One comment only. Was ever a man, since we emerged from barbarism, save the Great Napoleon, penalized and punished, not for an *act*, mark you, not for a *word* even, but for an 'Inclination' (ay, give it your capital letter!) unfairly 'apprehended' by a monomaniac of a gaoler? Add this: 'These rides, though within that part of his Limits where it may be considered quite natural for him to take exercise, are still in that direction where it is most likely he would seek the means of approaching the Coast and of ascertaining by personal observation the nature of the difficulties that might stand opposed to it' (Lowe to Bathurst, July 22, 1820, L.P., 20, 130, f. 272). To the plain man Limits are Limits. Lowe apparently wanted yet limitations within them. So that, all told, one must be thankful for the Governor's assurance to the Secretary that when ships are in sight the Captive, 'is not subjected to any additional restraints' (L.P., 20, 126, f. 107). As ships of one sort or another put in or passed at the rate of about a dozen a week, Napoleon had otherwise spent his time in a cage!

¹ It is generally conceded that the tone of Bathurst's Speech was even more deplorable, if possible, than its mis-statements. Holland, in his rejoinder, stigmatized the gross breach of taste: 'That Napoleon should be turned into ridicule was both in taste and feeling so improper in that House, that he was sorry the noble Earl should have followed such a course' (*Morning Chronicle*, March 19, 1817). The *Examiner* of March 24 was

gives ample proof that we were not wrong at Longwood in surmising that General Lowe was going beyond his instructions and concealing from his Government his tyrannical proceedings. That Government is not even aware of the further restrictions imposed upon the Emperor and his retinue : in a word, they have no knowledge of the contents of the above-mentioned Letter from Sir H. Lowe to Ct. Bertrand. The Emperor has dictated to General Gourgaud observations upon every single item in that Letter, and proved its barbarous, untruthful, and ridiculous nature. The observations were communicated to the Governor ; and the Emperor exclaimed in addition thereto : ' Would it not be more generous to kill me outright, seeing that even the mere shadow of respect is denied me ? ' The Limits established by the Letter restrict the Emperor to just the road to Longwood as far as opposite Alarm House. It is strewn with posts and admits of no turning aside ; it is twelve or fifteen feet wide, and runs between an untilled slope and an arid valley, surnamed Devil's Punchbowl ; the valley to the left of Longwood is prohibited ground. There are no other houses than the hut (*cahute*) tenanted by Ct.

more satirical : ' My Lord Bathurst takes valiant and lofty occasion of a man's being wedged in adversity to crack jokes upon him.' The Emperor himself could not withhold his indignation : ' Lord Bathurst might have made such a speech when he was on the Throne of France ; but it was shameful and unmanly to attack him in his present fallen situation ' (L.P., 20, 118, f. 468). One is interested to note that, in that truculent age, the noble Earl's fellow-peers as a whole relished it : ' I dare say you was much gratified by reading Ld. Bathurst's reply to the Opposition in our House. I don't know that I ever enjoyed a thing so much. He kept us all in a roar of laughter ' (Exmouth to Lowe, November 25, 1817, L.P., 20, 124, f. 306). It was Exmouth who congratulated Lowe upon his appointment thus : ' As Boney is to live, I rejoice with my Country he is in your hands ' (L.P., 20, 114, f. 237). As ' Boney ' was to be let die in five years, his lordship might have spared us his bloodthirsty innuendo.

Bertrand, and another which served as a guard-house, and is at present the residence of the Brigade-Major. When the Governor in the above-mentioned Letter forbids entrance into houses that are really non-existent, his only object, of course, is to make believe that the Limits lie within an inhabited part of the Island. This is quite contrary to the facts ; and I make appeal in the matter to the honour of Sir G. Cockburn and to the testimony of the soldiers and the inhabitants. Earl Bathurst has refused copies of the Instructions of the Governor of St. Helena and of the latter's correspondence with the officers of the Emperor's Household. Could he give a better proof that all that is contained in Montholon's Letter is not only the truth, but that the treatment of Napoleon is even harsher than is stated in that document. The Emperor often used to ride abroad in the early morning or in the evening, in order to avoid the risk, incurred during the day-time, of catching liver complaint or dysentery, which latter has accounted for a great number of natives, soldiers, and sailors. In order to prevent the Emperor from taking exercise, or to compel him to venture abroad at an hour of day which threatens his health, the Governor has hit upon the expedient of closing Longwood from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock in the morning. So far from intercourse being free with the officers and the inhabitants, as Lord Bathurst declared in the House of Lords, it is prohibited to such an extent that one is not even allowed to enter into conversation with anybody he meets along the Devil's Punchbowl. Tradespeople can only be communicated with by means of open letters delivered to Captain Poppleton. So that Sir H. Lowe has permitted himself these tyrannical proceedings in opposition to his instructions, and even without troubling to inform his

Government thereof. He declared during the month of August that he would send no provisions to Longwood unless the Emperor placed funds at his disposal. The Emperor made answer : ' I have asked nothing of your Government. It is a matter of indifference to me whether you send anything or not. I am a soldier, and I have eaten more than once from a soldier's platter. In yonder camp that is near me there are brave soldiers who have won that title at the price of their blood. They look upon me with esteem as a distinguished officer, and tears come into their eyes when they witness the shameful manner in which I am treated. I will go and ask them to share their soup with me ; and there is not an officer, not even a private soldier, who will not with pleasure give me the half of his.'¹ The Emperor repeated these reproofs at table. At Longwood one looks upon the shortage of provisions and the poor quality thereof as mere trifles ; likewise all the other privations. Rarely is a complaint heard on that score ; but what is complained of, and rightly so, is the perpetual humidity of the house, the climate, the useless and barbarous restrictions, and the conduct of General Lowe and the officers of his staff, who take a delight in making felt the wretched power they possess of offending with impunity. Earl Bathurst says that the Lt.-Governor would not have chosen a bad dwelling-house. I reply that he possessed good quarters at Jamestown, and that he utilized Longwood only as a country house. Longwood being Government property, was at the disposal of the authorities, whilst they would have been obliged to purchase or let any other country residence. The habitual dampness of this

¹ Cf. ' I can dine with the Officers of the 53rd Regt. or if not with them with the soldiers ' (Lady Malcolm's account of the interview of August 18. And cf. all the Diarists).

part of the Island brought an attack of dysentery upon Madame de Montholon and General Gourgaud, which for a whole month made us fear for their lives. All the officers have proved victims to the climate, which most naturally sets up rheumatism. Ct. Bertrand alone has not been ill, for the simple reason that he did not reside at Longwood. The barometric and thermometric readings taken daily by Mr. O'Meara will bear me out in what I say about the unsuitability of the climate.¹

¹ About that climate, to which I have already referred. What are the ascertained facts?

The thermometer showed no great extremes: it was never really cold, and the registered temperature never exceeded 75° or 80° in the shade. But just as a few degrees of cold in our own humid and drizzly winter are more penetrating than the clear, dry, and invigorating 'zero' of Canada, so the moisture-laden warmth of the Rock was in its effects upon Europeans tantamount to a much more African heat. For it used to rain a month at a time (L.P., 20,129, f. 219), generally from the south-east or south-south-east (the Logs seldom show any other wind). The Longwood plateau, from its position, got rather less rain than the Plantation valley; in fact, as the soil of the former was neither pervious nor spongy, the Exiles would probably not have had reason to complain of humidity had it not been for their wretchedly constructed habitations. There are some twenty or thirty complaints of the Orderly Officer that the rain is coming through one or another's ceiling, often his own; and Wynyard confesses that these wooden shanties can never be anything else but damp (L.P., 20,115, f. 433). As for maladies, we are told that hydrophobia and smallpox were unknown—which is so much to the good. Catarrhal and inflammatory affections were endemic, and liver complaints (torpor, enlargement, induration, etc.) very common. As calomel was indicated for the latter, but contra-indicated by the former, the doctors were often puzzled as to treatment. There is an interesting conversation between Wynyard and Montholon on the subject (L.P., 20,122, f. 527). Dysentery and other bowel disorders, and malarial, or perhaps, rather, *colonial* fevers (as M. Masson calls them), were a periodic scourge, and played havoc with the soldiers, and still more the sailors ('In the autumnal season of the year fevers and dysenteries prevail here in a very great degree,' Lowe to Bathurst, June 9, 1817, C.O., 247. 9). Insolations were frequent, though by avoiding the sun between ten and three,

As for General Lowe's delicacy of feeling, mentioned by Earl Bathurst in his speech, his conduct and his methods with us have shown that he knew but the bare meaning of the words, as you may judge from a trait or two I will give you. He had asked for written submissions to the restrictions which he should think fit to impose upon us: Ct. Bertrand returned a Declaration

one could escape them. Apoplexy, of the East-Indian variety, was not uncommon. It attacked old men like Buonavita, middle-aged men like Dr. Livingstone, young men like Lieutenant Torbett (a native), and Napoleon himself had a touch of it in January, 1819. If the climate was so 'healthy'—and apart from the Longwood writers who might be interested, the three Commissioners have not a good word to say for it—why that never-ending tale of sickness, and that everlasting procession of invalids in the Lowe Papers? Hardly a single one of the leading, the secondary, or even the third-rate figures escapes, and the sailors, soldiers, or civilians who are packed off to Europe or to the Cape form a running commentary upon the Captivity. Dozens of military officers, from Bingham down to young ensigns and cornets, depart on the score of ill-health; naval men—well, I refer to Appendices B, C, and D; civilians, being mainly natives, show a less percentage of sick. Cipriani, Rainsford, Torbett, and others died; Gourgaud and Dr. Livingstone all but; Montholon, Chandelier, Lepage, and other Frenchmen were constantly ill; so were the three Commissioners—in Montchenu's case the 'stoppages' were probably the result of gluttony! Madame de Montholon has to leave on the usual ground; Madame Bertrand and Lady Lowe are seldom well. Lowe has one recorded illness at least, in July, 1818 (L.P., 20, 122, f. 59). Reade and Poppleton are perpetually 'not very well'; Nicholls often so, and returns home; Blakeney occasionally—Lutyens supplies the exception. Hodson is another sick man. Payne, Darling, Boorman, and other Longwood tradesmen are frequently *hors de combat*, 'confined to bed with a fever and can't come' (L.P., 20, 130, f. 29). Boys, Balcombe, Doveton, all have to recuperate in England. Doctors are not spared. O'Meara gets laid up; a batch of naval surgeons are invalided home in 1818 and 1819; also Verling, Stokoe, and Baxter. *Et j'en passe*. Ay, every Jack man who can leave the Island does so, pretty well. The one who *can't* is Napoleon—and he dies! And to say, with the disingenuous Montholon, that the climate, the confinement, and the black brooding did not contribute to his death, is to be wilfully regardless of the etiology of cancer.

signed by all. As if to insult that officer, so worthy of all respect, General Lowe came over to Longwood for the purpose of laying before each one his signature, in order to legalize it. Again, Admiral Cockburn had given orders that the strangers or the inhabitants of the Island who wished to see the Emperor should apply to Ct. Bertrand to learn if and when the Emperor would receive them : these invitations of the Grand-Marshal served as passes to Longwood and were sent every evening to the Admiral by the officer on duty. But Sir Hudson Lowe gives passes to a host of strangers without asking whether it suits the Emperor's convenience to see them. His object is to disgust the Emperor with visits. These strangers will stand before the Emperor's windows or on his route, thinking apparently that a piece of paper from the Governor gives them the right to exact a sight of Napoleon ! The Emperor cannot always be in the humour to make a show of himself for visitors whose very name he is ignorant of ; he is often compelled to remain indoors to avoid such importunity. He sent word to General Lowe that he wished to see at Longwood only persons provided with authority from Ct. Bertrand, as he used in Admiral Cockburn's time. The Governor retorted that the Emperor wanted to see no one ; and that was false. There is at St. Helena a staff large enough for an army corps, in which a captain is paid at the rate of 45s. *per diem*. These officers come to Longwood, where they have no business, and shout rudely and gallop with a train of dragoons and servants even right under the Emperor's windows, who, put out by such behaviour, had a letter written on the subject to the Governor. The latter distorted this into a declaration in which the Emperor was made to complain that the officers of the 53rd Regiment (for whom he had great esteem) came to Longwood.

The provisions which the Governor sends to Longwood are thrown pell-mell into a cart—meat, bread, butter, chickens, vegetables, sugar—all one on top of the other, so that every article arrives full of some foreign substance and spoilt by the rain, the sun, or the dust. The slaves who carry the provisions to Ct. Bertrand's house have been forbidden to enter the courtyard, and the things are left in the roadway outside. The 'delicacy' of Sir H. Lowe,¹ so talked about, led him to want to have a

¹ Even Piontkowski smiles at Lowe's 'delicacy.' We get many protestations of such in the Papers, and the Governor is never so 'delicate' as when working off his caprice or his spite on the Exiles, gutting private letters 'for the public good,' or prying into the Emperor's *tabatières* after his death. There's much talk of it over Nicholls' abortive attempts to catch sight of the Prisoner twice in every twenty-four hours: 'It is consideration *alone* for the feelings of General Bonaparte himself that has prevented personal intrusion upon him, and it is through this delicacy alone that he or his Followers have been enabled to level their slanders and calumnies against me' (Lowe to Bathurst, January 20, 1819, L.P., 20, 125, f. 163). Really? Lowe knew for a certainty that the man who 'personally intruded' upon the Emperor, were he the Orderly, the A.D.C., the D.A.G., or the Governor himself, would be shot dead on the threshold. If there was any consideration, it was for his own skin or his subordinates'; and he knew Napoleon's temper better than to hold as a mere empty threat the words dictated to Bertrand officially in reply to Nicholls on September 3, 1819: '... 5° Le corps de l'Empereur Napoléon est à la disposition de ses ennemis; ils sont maîtres de le tuer. Mais il ne se soumettra jamais à ce traitement ignominieux, contraire à ce qui est établi depuis quatre ans. 6° Vouloir violer son asyle et s'introduire par violence dans son logement, c'est provoquer au meurtre' (L.P., 20, 128, f. 11). But that 'delicacy' was a convenient solution of the dilemma Bathurst placed the Governor in by his ambiguous instructions: 'In the event of General Bonaparte declining to accede to this proposal . . . you will adopt such measures as you may think most effectual to prevent your being deceived as to his being actually at Longwood, taking care always that in adopting these measures you pay all possible consideration to the feelings and habits of General Bonaparte, etc.' (L.P., 20, 123, f. 395). That is, force his door, but force it gently! Nicholls came near to putting it to the test of cold lead: 'The Governor had it in

man hanged in front of Madame Bertrand's door, whom such an occurrence was bound to shock painfully, seeing that she was far gone with child.

The hatred of the Governor, and still more of his A.D.C. (*sic*), Sir Thomas Reade, against me went so far as not only to try and injure me in Europe, but even to endeavour to inspire the Emperor and his suite with contempt for me, by spreading the most ridiculous stories about me after my departure from St. Helena—as I have

contemplation to order me to enter the rooms of General Bonaparte, to see whether he was present; but Montholon's illness prevented the execution of this duty' (L.P., 20,210, f. 15). When Napoleon is slowly dying, and lacks the spirit and the strength to make any physical resistance whatsoever, Lowe dares once more to talk of 'force.' Such a passage as this, in those circumstances, is repulsive reading: 'The Count hoped the Governor would not proceed to any extreme. The Governor replied: "Je suis fermement décidé à le faire et même à avoir recours à la force si j'y suis contraint"' (Gorrequer's Minutes, March 30, 1821, L.P., 20,132, f. 350). And the A.D.C. instructs Lutyens the same day: 'If the Surgeon is not admitted, it is your means of observation alone that can save the employment of force, which must be had recourse to *to-morrow* if your report does not render it unnecessary' (*Ibid.*, f. 357). That is what Forsyth idealizes as the Governor's 'firmness'! Nicholls, like Lutyens (as we have seen), had a real delicacy of his own, which more than once drew forth the Governor's criticism: 'He [Lowe] thought I was rather too scrupulous in regard to the delicacy on which I acted by keeping so much out of Gen. Bonaparte's way. This conversation was brought on by the Governor asking me whether I had ever taken off my hat to Gen. B. I told him I had never been near enough, which, in fact, was nothing but the truth' (L.P., 20,210, f. 35). You are left wondering whether Lowe wanted him to doff his hat or not. Presumably *not*, when you find him telling Bathurst, over the 'Doveton picnic,' that the newly-knighted *yamstock* 'preserved the proper dignity and respect of his own character as an English gentleman by not condescending to the same obeisance as General Bonaparte's own Followers' (L.P., 20,131, f. 111). Counts Bertrand and Montholon had removed their hats when lunching on the lawn with Napoleon. But they, you see, were not of the bulldog breed.

just learned. Although I could only speak to one officer¹ on the journey to the Cape (whose behaviour from the first made me refrain from all commerce with him), it was reported in the Island that I had boasted that the Emperor had wept all night because he had been forced to part with me!—*he*, who is sundered from his Family, who has lost his throne and millions of adherents, and who endures his misfortunes with unexampled fortitude! One must be mad to expect people to believe such miserable calumnies.

I could cite several things more of a like nature, but I content myself with giving a just idea of the 'delicate' manner in which Sir H. Lowe treats the Emperor and his suite. He did not even scruple to arrest in person, and dismiss without saying why, a domestic whom General Montholon had engaged on the recommendation of the late Lt.-Governor.² The books sent to Longwood are paid for out of the 4,000 napoleons which were taken from the Emperor in deposit on the *Bellerophon*, and of which the remainder, as well as the silver plate, was swallowed up at St. Helena. The Editor of the *Anti-Gallican* gave out that his paper was utilized for a cypher correspondence, and this reason is assigned by Earl Bathurst for the refusal to send papers to Longwood. It seems strange to me that any persons who may have worked to enter into correspondence with St. Helena by means of papers should not have taken the trouble to inquire *what* papers reached the Emperor, instead of addressing themselves to a sheet whose very name is unknown at Longwood. Earl Bathurst is ignorant of the reasons that the Emperor may have for desiring a free

¹ Ensign Croad (p. 102). 'From the first conversation' presumably, for, as we have seen, there was at least one.

² The Persian aforementioned.

correspondence, so as to procure money for meeting his wants. Is it not likely that General Lowe's action in asking the Emperor for funds, which he knows him to be without at St. Helena, should engender a suspicion that people only wish to ascertain whether the Emperor has means in Europe and where they are located? And is it to be wondered at that the Emperor is in no hurry to supply that information? Earl Bathurst says that the precipitate departure of the Emperor for St. Helena precluded the making of arrangements for the Emperor's pleasure; yet it was not during Admiral Cockburn's time, but since Sir H. Lowe's arrival, that everything has been short at Longwood. The only way to save the Emperor's life at St. Helena is to give him a dwelling-house in a healthy part of the Island, not to restrict him in his habits of exercise, to free him from General Lowe's insults, and to provide him with wholesome food: all this could be quite consistent with the safety of the Emperor's person, if the Governor was limited to watching and defending the Island and its shores by land and sea, and if all that touches the Emperor and his household was settled by a council independent of the Governor, and consisting of superior officers and the chief civilians. The Emperor has often expressed himself to that effect.

A day seldom went by without giving me the opportunity of admiring a trait of kindness on the part of Napoleon; I should never end if I went into details; moreover, I am not authorized to do so, and the Emperor does not like people to act unbidden. Napoleon rises early, drinks *café-au-lait* at eight; he luncheons at eleven, generally alone or else in the garden, when he invites the officers of his suite and sometimes strangers who are by chance at Longwood; he dines at 8 p.m.

No man can be more abstemious than he : it is his practice to rise from table with appetite still left, and he drinks only about a quarter of a bottle of claret, mixed with water, at a meal ; after dinner he has a small glass of wine of Constantia with the dessert. He never has liqueurs, and remains but twenty minutes at dinner, and then passes to the saloon, where he at once drinks a cup of *café-au-lait*. Before General Lowe's arrival he often rode out, either at 5 a.m. or in the evening ; but Lowe, who has had Longwood locked up from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., has thereby deprived him of his only recreation, for one can't go out during the heat of the day without exposing one's health. Napoleon always rides the same horse, which he is very fond of, and caresses and calls his 'faithful,' and he is amused when the horse knows him from afar. The Emperor always wears mufti at St. Helena, usually a green coat that Santini (who perforce became his tailor and even cobbler) altered from a hunting costume ; with it a waistcoat, white breeches and shoes, and on his breast the star of the Legion of Honour. He has the best-turned leg and the handsomest hand you could see, and the whole figure is in perfect proportion. He puts boots on only for riding purposes, and seldom dresses in grey or brown, and never dons uniform. He spends the whole day in reading, writing, or dictating the memoirs of his life. The suite assembles at 6 p.m. in the saloon, when the Emperor often speaks of his youth, of which he can recall the minutest circumstance. Even in those days the King of Corsica¹ said : 'Napoleon, you are a man out of Plutarch !' Occasionally he indulges in cards or chess, or Mesdames Bertrand and Montholon play on the piano. If any strange ladies are present, he invites them to chess or cards. The English ladies and

¹ *I.e.*, Paoli, the Corsican Chieftain.

officers who have had the honour of conversing with him are well aware that no man could be more affable and amiable than he ; he even amuses himself by sending sweets to the ladies ; and no one has ever left his presence without being enchanted with his kindness and his pleasant manners. He seems to be made to be admired in every possible respect.

Misfortune is so just a title to inspire delicacy that even an ordinary gaoler, having in his charge a prisoner of some distinction, does not venture into the gaol without ascertaining if his visit be not ill-timed and allowing the latter to fix the hour. Sir H. Lowe is unacquainted with this customary civility of gaolers. He reached St. Helena on April 15 in the evening, and at once wrote to Ct. Bertrand that he would come to Longwood on the morrow at 9 a.m. (an unsuitable hour) to see the Emperor, without ascertaining whether the Emperor was disposed to receive him then.

He passed by Ct. Bertrand's house without calling, and arrived at Longwood at 9 a.m. without the Grand-Marshal, although he knew that the Emperor had never seen anyone who was not presented to him by Ct. Bertrand. This strange behaviour and the total want of respect due to a great man in adversity made the Emperor refuse to see General Lowe ; who was obliged to return as he had come, and was informed that he must address himself to Ct. Bertrand to know when Napoleon would be willing to see him. Bertrand, after taking the Emperor's orders, let Sir H. Lowe know that he would be received on the morrow at 4 p.m., the hour at which the Emperor always gave audience to visitors. The Governor arrived with Admiral Cockburn and his Staff. We were in the billiard-room when Ct. Bertrand told the usher that the Emperor

asked for the Governor. Being used to showing in only the person mentioned, the usher closed the door after Sir H. Lowe without noticing that Sir G. Cockburn was with him. The Admiral took this mistake¹ of the servant's for an order of the Emperor's, and deemed himself offended. It was not the case at all, and Ct. Bertrand gave him an explanation, and the Emperor even sent the Grand-Marshal to Jamestown at the time of the Admiral's departure to wish him a pleasant voyage. But he would not consent to dismiss the domestic who had closed the door after the Admiral, as the latter had requested, for it would have been unjust to a retainer who had never failed in his duty.

Admiral Malcolm was highly esteemed by Napoleon. I have several times heard the Emperor asking if 'our Anglo-Scot had not yet arrived.' He also saw Lady Malcolm with pleasure, and on several occasions took her driving in his carriage. The Emperor has always shown the greatest interest in the persons of his suite. During the illness of Madame de Montholon and of Baron Gourgaud he never failed one single day to go and pay them a personal visit, and that though their ailments were dangerous and he was exposing himself. He visited Madame Bertrand at Hutt's Gate every time she was out of sorts. He was most attentive to them all, and contributed much to their recovery by the interest he manifested. He always asked O'Meara after the state of health of his retinue, and as long as anyone was ill the first order he would give in the morning was to his valet to go and inquire after the invalid's condition.

You have heard the praises that are bestowed far and wide upon Ct. Bertrand, but one must know him to do

¹ Possibly 'this slight.' It is not clear whether the writer meant *méprise* or *mépris*.

full justice to him. He is really worthy of his renown. Madame Bertrand was saying one day to me : ' There is not another Bertrand in the world. I think the mould for making such men is broken. He is perfect in every respect. Do you want a distinguished officer and the personification of fidelity to his master—see Bertrand : do you want a model for a good son and relative, a tender husband and father, a sincere friend, and a charming man in society—you will find all this united in him ! ' Madame Bertrand does not overstate things, and no one who knows him well but would echo the good opinion she has of her spouse. He is always the same, and I never met so amiable a man : the officers of the brave 53rd Regiment can judge. I will speak to you later on of the other general officers of the Emperor's retinue. Their devotion to him deserves much praise. Napoleon said to me, when he was told that I must leave the Island : ' They are removing you. Go ; you will find friends everywhere, and anywhere you will be better off than in this miserable country. They wish to punish you for having done your duty : I will give you good certificates and the grade of *Chef d'Escadron* (cavalry Major) : go and rejoin my Family ; your Declaration and Montholon's letter will suffice to make known our situation. You must keep copies of them.' I pointed out to the Emperor the difficulty of taking papers with me, and I proposed to him to learn by heart these two documents as the sole means of eluding the search ordered by General Lowe. I thus memorized them during my remaining time at Longwood ; and I wrote out three copies on the way [to England], which I gave to the three servants of the Emperor when they were landed at Portsmouth, and I was still detained on the frigate. At my departure from St. Helena they had searched down to the shirt collars, even the servants'.

I counted upon the servants being able to reach the Emperor's Family sooner than I, and strongly urged upon them they should make no noise and no other use of these copies than to hand them to the Imperial Family. Rousseau and Archambault left quietly for America, whilst Santini amused himself by writing to the Press here [in England] without authority from the Emperor and in opposition to Ct. Bertrand's formal warning. I am persuaded that Napoleon will be very angry at this inconsiderate step, more especially as Santini has not even understood certain details which I imparted to him. The Emperor *never* ordered the Governor out of his presence ; but he gave the order that Sir H. Lowe should never be shown in unless he had previously presented a command from his Government to assassinate him. It is the Emperor himself who fixed the quantity of wine for the officers of his suite, and not the Governor ; and it is infinitely beneath the Emperor's dignity to make mention of these miserable details of food. Napoleon, the most abstemious man who ever lived, never condescends to speak of these things, and the officers of his Suite have never complained of the *quantity* of provisions but sometimes of the *quality*, and of the lack of good water and bread.

Count Bertrand has authorized me to assure positively the Imperial Family that he will never leave the Emperor, and that he will only return to Europe to arrange for the education of his children on condition that the English Government guarantees him the facility to rejoin his Master. . . .

CETERA DESUNT.

IV

APPENDICES

- A. PIONTKOWSKI DOCUMENTS.
- B. ST. HELENA SAILINGS AND CALLS.
- C. SHIPS' LOGS.
- D. ADMIRALS' JOURNALS.
- E. LOWE, READE, PLAMPIN AND CO.
- F. THE 'PLOT' OF 1817.
- G. TWO LETTERS OF CAPEL LOFFT.

APPENDIX A

I.—THE DECREE OF APRIL 27, 1815.

AU PALAIS DES TUILERIES,
Le 27 Avril, 1815.

NAPOLÉON, Empereur des Français : Nous avons décrété et décrétons ce qui suit.

ARTICLE 1^{er}.

Il est accordé sur notre Domaine extraordinaire une Dotation de 200, transmissible à leurs enfans, à chacun des sous-officiers et soldats, compris dans l'Etat No. 1, annexé au Présent Décret, qui nous ont suivi dans l'Isle d'Elbe.

ARTICLE 2^e.

Il est accordé sur notre Domaine extraordinaire une Dotation de 200, transmissible à leurs enfans, à chacun des sous-officiers et soldats compris dans l'Etat No. 2, annexé au Présent Décret, qui nous ont suivi dans l'Isle d'Elbe.

ARTICLE 3^e.

Notre Intendant Général ayant dans ses attributions le Domaine extraordinaire est chargé de l'exécution du Présent Décret.

(*Signé*) NAPOLÉON.

Annexé : Etat nominatif des militaires faisant partie des troupes venues de l'Isle d'Elbe auxquels l'Empereur accorde une dotation de 200 francs transmissible à leur enfans.

No. 1. Hommes qui avoient la Décoration avant le départ de Fontainebleau :

No. *Cavalerie Cheval-Légers Polonais.*

... 144. Lada, Etienne.

145. Piontowski, Frédéric.

Artillerie de la Garde.

146. Garcin, Jean-Baptiste.

...

(Archives Nationales A.F.^{IV} 859 ¹².)

II.—THE PETITION OF APRIL 25, 1815.

A SON ALTESSE SÉRÉNISSIME, MONSEIGNEUR LE MARÉCHAL
PRINCE D'ECKMÜHL, MINISTRE DE LA GUERRE.

MON PRINCE,

Charles Piontowski, depuis trois ans Lieutenant de 1^{re} classe d'Etat Major, a joint Sa Majesté à l'Isle d'Elbe, et est le premier officier qui a supplié et obtenu l'honneur d'y servir comme simple soldat. Il est entré dans les grenadiers et puis dans les cheval-légers de la Garde, et a suivi Sa Majesté jusqu'à Paris. Par Décret du 16 du courant il est nommé Lieutenant dans la Cavalerie sans indication du Régiment qu'il doit joindre. Il parle et écrit plusieurs langues, et supplie Votre Altesse Sérénissime de vouloir bien le placer à l'Etat-Major ou dans le 1^{er}, 3^e, 4^e ou 6^e Régiment d'hussards, s'il ne peut pas être placé dans la Garde faute de place. Il se flatte de voir accomplir ses vœux et a l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect,

Mon Prince,

De votre Altesse Sérénissime,

Le très humble et très obeissant serviteur,

(Signé) PIONTOWSKI.

PARIS,

Le 25 Avril, 1815.

Apostillé : Mr. Piontowski est venu dans l'Isle d'Elbe servir Sa Majesté, comme simple cheval-léger quoiqu'il soit

Lieutenant depuis plusieurs années. Il a prouvé beaucoup de zèle et de dévouement pour Sa Majesté.

(Signé) Le Lieutenant-Général,
COMTE DROUOT.

PARIS,
Le 1^{er} Mai, 1815.

(Min. Guerre Arch. Ad. Dos. Célébrités.)

III.—CERTIFICATES AND RECEIPTS.

No. 1.

Je certifie que Mr. Piontkowski a montré pendant son séjour dans l'Isle d'Elbe, et pendant la marche de l'Empereur, le plus grand zèle et le plus grand dévouement pour Sa Majesté ; je n'ai que des éloges à donner de sa conduite.

Le Lieut.-Général, Aide-de-Camp de Sa Majesté,
(Signé) CTE. DROUOT.

PARIS,
Le 1^{er} Juin, 1815.

No. 2. MONSIEUR PIONTKOWSKI, CAPT. AUX CHEVAU- LÉGERS LANCIEERS.

AU PALAIS DE L'ÉLYSÉE,
Le 23 Juin, 1815.

L'Empereur me charge de vous prévenir, Monsieur, que vous êtes admis à la faveur de le suivre dans sa retraite.

Le Grand Maréchal,
(Signé) BERTRAND.¹

No. 3. MONSIEUR PIONTKOWSKI, CAPITAINÉ AUX CHEVAU-LÉGERS LANCIEERS.

Les circonstances forçant l'Empereur Napoléon à renoncer à vous conserver près de lui, Sa Majesté me charge de vous

¹ 'Comte' crossed out in the copy.

assurer qu'Elle a été contente de votre conduite dans ces derniers tems ; qu'elle a été digne d'éloges et confirme ce que Sa Majesté attendoit de vous.

Le Grand Maréchal,
(Signé) CTE. BERTRAND.

A BORD DU 'NORTHUMBERLAND,'
Ce 7 Oct., 1815.

NO. 4. MONSIEUR LE CHEF D'ESCADRON PIONTKOWSKI.

STE. HÉLÈNE,
Ce 19 Oct., 1816.

Les preuves d'attachement que vous avez données en suivant l'Empereur Napoléon à l'Isle d'Elbe, où vous avez voulu servir comme soldat, n'y ayant [sic] pas de place d'officier vacante, et en venant le rejoindre à Ste. Hélène, seront toujours pour vous un titre à la bienveillance et de la Famille et des amis de l'Empereur.

Veuillez agréer les sentimens avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être votre très humble et très obeissant serviteur,
(Signé) LE CTE. BERTRAND.

NO. 5. PAR ORDRE EXPRES DE L'EMPEREUR NAPOLÉON.
LIVRET DU CHEF D'ESCADRON PIONTKOWSKI.

Le Chef d'Escadron Piontkowski, ayant donné des preuves d'attachement en suivant l'Empereur Napoléon à l'Isle d'Elbe, depuis à Ste. Hélène, et ayant dû quitter ce dernier séjour ; l'Empereur, n'étant que satisfait de sa conduite, recommande à ceux de ses parens ou amis qui verront cet écrit de l'employer dans son grade de Chef d'Escadron de Cavalerie, et de lui faire compter une gratification de deux années de ses appointemens, en écrivant le montant de ladite gratification au bas du livret. Enfin il leur recommande de l'aider et l'assister.

(Signé) LE CTE. BERTRAND.

STE. HÉLÈNE,
Le 19 Oct., 1816.

No. 6.

Reçu de Paris le 8 Mai, 1817, d'une source inconnue, la somme de 2,000 francs.

No. 7.

Soldé a Mr. le Chef d'Escadron Piontkowski la somme de 6,000 francs, d'ordre de Mr. Torlonia et Comp., et pour le compte de Madame, Mère de l'Empereur Napoléon, par Messrs. Baring frères et Comp.

LONDRES,

Le 12 Juillet [1817].

APPENDIX B

ST. HELENA SAILINGS AND CALLS, OCTOBER, 1815 TO APRIL, 1822.¹

[Compiled from St. Helena Sailing List (L.P., 20,161)²; Cape Sailing List (L.P., 20,226); Ships' Logs; Admirals' Journals; Cockburn's, Lowe's, Bathurst's, and Somerset's Despatches (L.P., 20,114—20,133); the St. Helena Letter Books (L.P., 20,135—20,140); Reade's Correspondence (L.P., 20,207); the Orderly Officers' Journals (L.P., 20,208—20,212); the Colonial Office Records, the St. Helena Records (Janisch); the Diarists; the contemporary Press, and other sources.]

a = arrives from ; *s* = sails for.

1815.

Oct. 10 : H.M.S. Icarus (Cpt. Devon) *a* England ; *s* Oct. 18 on a cruise, and returns to the Station Nov. 27 ; *s* England Jan. 28, 1817.

Oct. 11 : H.M.S. Ferret (Cpt. Stirling) *a* England ; cruises off the Island, and *s* England Mar. 27, 1816.

Oct. 12 : H.M.S. Havannah a. (See Log, Appendix C.)

¹ Vessels, persons, cargoes, and dates presenting no interest whatever are omitted.

² The ' St. Helena Sailing List ' lacks beginning and end, has many omissions (especially of men-of-war), and is often inaccurate. It was apparently posted up on the arrival of the ship, and the date of sailing is often speculative. Verification by Logs and Journals is necessary. It starts with Lowe's arrival on April 14, 1816, and ends at June 4, 1821. It does not mention passengers before October, 1817, and then only erratically. The ' Cape Sailing List ' is a mere fragment.

Oct. 15 : H.M.S. Redpole (Cpt. Denman) *a* England ; *s* England Oct. 22 ; reaches Falmouth Dec. 2.¹ (And see Aug. 15, 1818.)

Oct. 15 : H.M.S. Peruvian (Cpt. White) *a* England ; *s* Oct. 18 to take possession of Ascension,² and remains till the Spring. (And see June 5, 1816.)

Oct. 15 : H.M.S. Zenobia (Cpt. Dobree) *a* England ; *s* Oct. 18 in company with the *Peruvian* on her mission, and returns to St. Helena.

Oct. 15 : H.M.S. Northumberland a. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Oct. 19 : H.M.S. Bucephalus (Cpt. Westropp) *a* England ; *s* Cape Oct. 24 in company with the *Havannah*, with '79 foreigners, soldiers, and others' deported from St. Helena. Returns Feb. 14, 1816.

Oct. 26 : H.M.S. Zephyr (Cpt. Rich) *a* England. Cruised to and from the Cape, etc.

Oct. 27 : H.M.S. Ceylon (Cpt. Hamilton) *a* England. Cruised to and from Cape, etc.³

¹ The fastest passage home during the Captivity, forty-one days. By her went Cockburn's long despatch to Croker, 'three deported Frenchmen, seven invalids and four gentlemen' (L.P., 20, 114, f. 250).

² Theretofore no man's land—a matter of precaution : '*Oct. 22, 1815.*—At 5.30 p.m. Capt. White in company with Cpt. Dobree went on shore and took formal possession of the Island in the Name of his Britannic Majesty. At 7, sent boats on shore to catch Turtle' (Log of *Peruvian*).

'*Oct. 22, 1815.*—At sunset hoisted the Union on shore, and took possession of the Island in the Name of his Majesty' (Log of *Zenobia*). All the successive steps taken to ensure possession are set forth in the two Logs, and form an interesting summary of a typical case.

³ The foregoing ten vessels, being the Flagship and her escort, took out the first consignment of the additional troops required for the Detention. The 2nd Battalion 53rd Regiment, which was in garrison at Portsmouth, embarked on the *Bucephalus* and *Ceylon*, a number of men being drafted on to the *Havannah* the first day out. The sixty-five N.C.O.'s and men of the R.A. (Irish to a man, says Cockburn, and insubordinate on the way out) went mostly in the *Northumberland* with Captain Greatly. The eighteen dragoons under Cornet Hoath, required for orderlies, were procured from the Cape. The St. Helena Regiment and the St. Helena Artillery were already on the spot. The 2nd Bat-

Nov. 6: *Bombay* (Cpt. Hamilton) *a* India; *s* England
 Nov. 12 with duplicates of Cockburn's despatches, Warden's
 and O'Meara's letters, etc.

Nov. 15: *H.M.S. Weymouth*, storeship (Cpt. Turner), *a*
 England with coals, stores, etc., and remains at anchor.

Dec. 1: *H.M.S. Ariel* (Cpt. D. Ross) *a* Cape; *s* England
 Dec. 2 with Surgeon Morgan, Lt. Warren, and despatches.

Dec. 7: *Sir G. Cockburn*, transport; *a* England with details
 of troops.

Dec. 9: *H.M.S. Minden* (Cpt. Mackay) *a* Cape; *s* England
 Dec. 13 with the first Longwood letters¹ and despatches which
 Lt. Vincent delivers at Spithead on Feb. 4, 1816. (And see
 Aug. 16, 1820.)

Dec. 29: *H.M.S. Cormorant*, storeship, (see Log, Ap-
 pendix C); *Thomas and Mary*, transport; *Hercules*, an
 American vessel; *a* England.

1816.

[*January—March*: Numerous 'strangers' pass in sight;
 a Russian, a Swedish, and a Portuguese vessel put in; many
 ships are boarded; a few are chased and escape.]

Jan. 10: *H.M.S. Leveret* (Cpt. Theed) *a* England. Remains
 on the Station till Nov. 16, 1820. Cpt. Theed's visit to
 Napoleon on arrival.

Jan. 10-12: *H.M.S.'s Medway, Tamar, Harpy*, and *Liver-
 pool* call. Visit of Rr.-Adml. Sir C. Tyler, late C.-in-C. at the
 Cape, on his way home.

Feb. 5: *Thames*, whaler, *a* and *s*. (See p. 133.)

talion 66th Regiment, the forty-seven R.E. Sappers and Miners
 under Emmett and Wortham, and the seventeen R.S.C. under Basil
 Jackson, arrived in the spring with Lowe. The 1st Battalion
 66th Regiment arrived in the summer of 1817, to relieve the
 53rd, of which only about sixty men were left behind. A good
 few, however, enlisted in the Island Regiment. The 20th Regi-
 ment arrived in the spring of 1819 to relieve the 66th; a detach-
 ment of the latter remaining till the end. The total number of
 troops on January 1, 1817, was 2,190; on January 1, 1818, another
 hundred or so more.

¹ Including Montholon's letter to his friend at Nogent: ' Nous
 sommes établis à Longwood. La maison n'est pas bonne, mais
 la campagne est assez belle et le parc agréable ' (C.O., 247. 4).

Feb. 7 : H.M.S. Theban (Cpt. Leslie) *a* Cape ; *s* Feb. 10 England. The Captain's visit to Napoleon.

Feb. 28 : Cornwallis (Cpt. Huntly) *a* Cape ; *s* June 7 England. Cpt. Huntly visits Napoleon on May 8.

Mar. 2-6 and 23-29 : The China Fleets, 6 ships and 9 ships, respectively, call. Visit of Urmston,¹ who remains some time at Briars and calls on Napoleon on May 5.

Mar. 13 : H.M.S. Spey (Cpt. Murray) *a* England with despatches ; *s* Mar. 18 Cape.

Mar. 25 : H.M.S. Julia (Cpt. Lewis, then Jones) *a* England, and remains on the Station till Malcolm's departure, and is then wrecked at Tristan d'Acunha.

Apr. 12 : Charles Mills a Calcutta ; *s* England Apr. 15 with Lowe's notifications of his arrival and assumption of office to Bunbury and Torrens.

Apr. 14 : H.M.S. Phaeton a. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Apr. 20—May 4 : Five Transports a England with the bulk of 2nd Batt. 66th Regt.

Apr. 23 : H.M.S. Havannah s. (See Log, Appendix C.)

May 6 : Adamant, transport (Cpt. Hutchinson), *a* England, with stores, furniture, etc., and Lt.-Cols. Wynyard and Mansel. (And see Nov. 16, 1816.)

May 9 and 10 till 14 and 15 : The Bengal Fleet calls (Lord Melville, William Pitt, etc.). Countess of Loudoun's stay ; visit of Arbuthnot, Burroughs, Lt. Moira's A.D.C.'s and others to Napoleon.

May 9 : H.M.S. Salcette (Cpt. Bowen) *a* India ; *s* England May 14 with Lowe's second batch of despatches, enclosing Bertrand's final Declaration. Cpt. Bowen's visit to Napoleon.

May 13 : Lougie Family (Cpt. Seaton) *a* Bombay ; *s* England May 14. Departure of the Skeltons with commissions from the French.

May 13 : Seven Transports, including *David* (see Log, Appendix C), *a* England, with remainder of 2nd Batt. 66th Reg. and details of 2nd Batt. 53rd. Arrival of Col. Dodgin.²

¹ By 'visit' is meant visit to the Island, and generally to Lowe. When to Napoleon or the Followers it is so stated.

² There were three Dodgins in the 66th—the Colonel, the Captain, and the Ensign. The artist and actor was the second.

Brought a case of books for Napoleon, including the *Dictionnaire des Girouettes*.

May 18: *Ganges* (Cpt. Falconer) a Batavia; s England
May 19. Visit of Sir Stamford Raffles to Napoleon.

May 29: *H.M.S. Mosquito* (Cpt. Brine) a England and Cape; s Cape June 5. Brings despatches, books, and papers, Madame Mère's letter to Napoleon, Gourgaud's letters from his mother, and Piontkowski's letter from his wife.¹

June 5: *H.M.S. Peruvian* s England with Lowe's third batch of despatches. She reaches Spithead on July 19.²

June 17: *H.M.S.'s Newcastle* and *Orontes*. (See Appendix C and Appendix D.)

July 7: *H.M.S. Falmouth* (Cpt. Festing) a Portsmouth and Gibraltar; s Aug. 2 to take possession of Tristan d'Acunha.³ (And see Feb. 22, 1817.)

July 24: *H.M.S. Acorn* (Cpt. Prior) a Cape; s England July 30. Visit of Col. Keating to Napoleon.⁴

¹ Though despatches went direct when possible, a good many reached St. Helena *via* the Cape; also stores, furniture, and the cases of books for the Emperor. The round trip usually took four months (L.P., 20,118, f. 374), though it could take much less. In September, 1817, a mail reached the Cape from England in forty-eight days (L.P., 20,161, f. 12), and the *Newcastle* took ten days from the Cape to St. Helena. The record for slowness was that lot of books sent by Lady Holland, which at the time of the Death had been eighteen months on the way (L.P., 20,133, f. 190).

² Forty-four days, the fastest passage home after the *Redpole* (forty-one), the *Newcastle* (forty-two), and the *Orontes* and *Termagant* (forty-three). By her went Lowe's letter to Bathurst of June 5 (L.P., 20,135, f. 7), which was replied to by the Secretary on July 20 (*ibid.*, f. 330). N.B.—As despatches were conveyed by almost every vessel, mention of such will be made only in noteworthy cases.

³ Brought a very interesting letter for Lowe from a friend at Tunis about the military operations in the Mediterranean under Exmouth (L.P., 20,115, f. 53). Captain Festing and Captain Murray of the *Griffin* were presented to Napoleon on August 1.

⁴ 'Col. Keating, late Governor of the I. of Bourbon, takes my packet by this occasion. I never saw him before, but have been a good deal struck with his eye and manner' (Lowe to Bunbury, July 29, 1816, L.P., 20,140, f. 6). Whence the Governor was impelled to strike back at the Colonel!

Aug. 20 : *H.M.S. Termagant* (Cpt. Shaw) a Cape ; s England
 Aug. 31 with Cpt. Gray, R.A., Lt. Louis, R.N. (both presented
 to Napoleon on the 25th), and Lowe's despatches enclosing
 Montholon's letter.¹ Reaches Spithead Oct. 13.

Aug. 20 : *H.M.S. Podargus* (Cpt. Wallis, then Rous) a
 England and Cape ; stays three years on the Station, with
 short cruises to and fro.²

Sep. 28 : *H.M.S. Thais* (Cpt. Weir) a India ; s England
 Sep. 30. Visit of Sir A. Campbell ; his gift of coffee to Lowe
 (L.P., 20,207, f. 67).

Sep. 29 : *H.M.S. Eurydice* a. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Oct. 6 : *H.M.S. Révolutionnaire* (Cpt. Woolcombe)³ a Cape ;
 s England Oct. 13 with Lowe's batch of despatches in reply
 to those by the *Eurydice*.

Oct. 13 : *H.M.S. Alpheus* (Cpt. Langford) a Cape with 150
 sheep for the Island ; s England Oct. 17 with despatches and
 emended Declarations.

Oct. 19 : *Surrey* (Cpt. Beadle) a Batavia ; s England Oct. 25.
 Departure of the *Nagles*.⁴

Oct. 19 : *David*. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Nov. 16 : *Adamant* (Cpt. Hutchinson) a Cape with Superin-
 tendent of Police Rainsford.⁵

Dec. 6 : *Larkins* (Cpt. Dumbledon) a Madras ; s England
 Dec. 15. Visit of Sir Thos. Strange and others to Longwood.

¹ The original. A copy went by the *Philomel*, September 22,
 and duplicates by the *Révolutionnaire*, October 13. The 'St.
 Helena Sailing List' puts the date of sailing at the 26th, which
 would throw everything out.

² Captain Wallis, who had served under the ill-fated Captain
 Wright, was rather *mal vu* at Longwood.

³ 'One of the greatest Asses in the Service' (Stanfell to Reade,
 L.P., 20,207, f. 70). One had said, more of a sheep !

⁴ Presumable only.

⁵ Rainsford, who died a year after, figured chiefly in Las Cases'
 arrest ; also when he was refused passage to an Indiaman by the
 officer of the watch of the *Newcastle*, though provided with
 papers from the Governor (L.P., 20,207, f. 36). When strangers
 of distinction had to be 'warned off' the Island, the Town-Major,
 Hodson, Cole, or Barnes, was requisitioned. When ignominy
 was desired, the Marshal or Gaoler, Weston, was used, as with
 O'Meara.

Dec. 18—Jan. 3, 1817: *H.M.S. Orontes*. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Dec. 30: *H.M.S. Griffin*. (See Log, Appendix C.)

1817.

Feb. 22: *H.M.S. Falmouth* (Cpt. Festing) *a* Cape; *s* England July 25.¹

Feb. 23: *Earl Balcarres* (Cpt. Jameson) *a* China; *s* England Mar. 1. Departure of Welle.² (And see Feb. 4, 1819.)

Mar. 5: *Tortoise*, storeship (Cpt. Cooke), *a* England; *s* Rio Apr. 8. Brought Warden's book, Instructions for the Commissioners, and despatches from Bathurst and Goulburn about the Longwood expenses.³

Mar. 12-17: The *Bombay Fleet* and the van of the *China Fleet* call on the way home. Cpt. Cobb visits Longwood. Departure of Cpt. Greatly, R.A.

Mar. 17: *Hannah* (Cpt. Heathorn) *a* Bombay; *s* England Mar. 18.⁴

Mar. 29—Apr. 3: The *Bengal Fleet* call. Visit of Churchill and his daughters.

Apr. 10-20: The *China Fleet* (7 ships) call on way home. Visit of Lord Molesworth. Cpts. Campbell, Ripley,⁵ and Innes are received by Napoleon; Cpt. Moffat by Bertrand.

May 27: *Ocean*, storeship (Cpt. Johnson), *a* England; *s*

¹ Festing visited the Emperor, for the second time, on March 25 (see July 7, 1816). Like Meynell, Stanfell, Wallis, and one or two others, he was much in evidence on the Station socially and professionally as Malcolm's deputy or companion.

² The Botanist in Stürmer's train, who brought the famous lock of hair. Lowe suspected him of taking away messages, etc., from Longwood, and advised Bathurst to have his baggage searched. Nor were his suspicions allayed when he saw this 'mere gardener,' as Stürmer airily termed him, escorted to his ship officially with 'conspicuous marks of attention' (L.P., 20, 118, f. 157). 'All the Commissioners, with the Baroness Stürmer and Sir P. and Lady Malcolm, accompanied Mr. Welle to the place of embarkment (Reade to Lowe, L.P., 20, 207, f. 158).

³ Captain Cooke and the Midshipman of the *Undaunted* (1814) were received by Napoleon on April 2.

⁴ Heathorn, with Harrington, Rose, Luson, etc., figured prominently in the Cape Contracts.

⁵ And see May 24, 1819.

Batavia July 2. Brought Santini's '*Appeal*,' the English version of Montholon's Letter, the reports of Holland's Motion and Bathurst's Speech, Piontkowski's secret messages for Gourgaud, and a consignment of newspapers.¹ Cpt. Johnson is received by Napoleon on June 29.

May 27 : *Experiment*, storeship (Cpt. Dacre), a England ; s Batavia July 21.²

May 28 : *Baring*, storeship (Cpt. Lambe), a England ; s Madras July 29 with the bulk of the 2nd Batt. 53rd Regt. to rejoin the 1st Batt. Brought the Bust of the King of Rome in charge of Radovitch. Cpt. Lambe calls at Longwood.

June 4 : *Princess Amelia* (Cpt. Balston) a China ; s England June 8. Visit of Cpt. Balston and Manning³ to Bertrand, where Napoleon sees them (L.P., 20,208, f. 87).

June 10-18 : Two Transports call on way home. Visit of officers of the 80th to Bertrand.

June 14 : *Lady Campbell* (Cpt. Marquis) a Bengal ; s England June 19. Visit of Col. Fagan, Judge-Advocate-General at Calcutta, to Napoleon.⁴ (And see June 24, 1819.)

¹ Including the *Observer* for March 17, 1817, which contained an editorial attack on Lowe, and was left lying on the counter by Postmaster Cole for all and sundry to read—much to the Governor's disgust (L.P., 20,121, f. 375). The Surgeon of the *Ocean* was Jardine, whom Piontkowski charged with the conveyance of his papers (see p. 158). Failing a meeting with Gourgaud, Jardine was to deliver them to Lewis Solomon.

² Dacre was supposed by Lowe to be the author of the *Letters from St. Helena* (L.P., 20,128, f. 239).

³ The Thibetan Explorer, who had been released from detention in France by Napoleon's intervention. He 'pays the homage of an offering to his Liberator' (L.P., 20,204, f. 33).

⁴ Fagan, to the dismay of Plantation, addressed Napoleon as 'Emperor' : 'I am very sorry to find that Col. Fagan should have addressed Bonaparte as Emperor' (Reade to Lowe, L.P., 20,118, f. 469). His tribute to Bertrand was noteworthy : 'Daignez croire que je partage le respect qu'ont tous les honnêtes gens pour votre caractère' (L.P., 20,204, f. 43). Fagan had brought letters from Lord Hastings, who himself 'saw no impropriety in giving the title' (L.P., 20,127, f. 69). To which Lowe replied : 'The name of "Napoleon Bonaparte" is that by which I am now requested to call him, instead of "General Bonaparte." Time may, it is to be hoped, reduce the pretensions which spring from this past title,' etc. (L.P., 20,128, f. 325).

June 27: Caesar (Cpt. Taylor) *a* Cape; *s* England July 2. Brought part of 1st Batt. 66th Regt. Visit to Napoleon of Lord Amherst, with Ellis, Cpt. Maxwell of the *Alceste*, etc.¹ (And see Dec. 21, 1818.)

June 29: H.M.S. Conqueror. (See Appendix C and Appendix D.)

June 30: Catherine Griffiths (Cpt. Hamilton) *a* Bengal with part of 1st Batt. 66th Regt.

July 3: Moira (Cpt. Galloway) *a* Madras; *s* England July 23 with skeletons of 2nd Batt. 53rd Regt. and 2nd Batt. 66th Regt. Departure of Fehrzen and Poppleton with commissions from Longwood.

July 5: Dorah (Cpt. Edwards) *a* Madras; *s* England July 29. Brought remainder of 1st Batt. 66th Regt. Arrival of Surgeon Henry.² Departure of the 'Nymph' as Mrs. Edwards.

July 6: Aurora (Cpt. Heaviside) *a* China. Brings the Elphinstone chessmen for Napoleon.³ Cpt. Heaviside visits Longwood.

Aug. 11: H.M.S. Lyra (Lt. Basil Hall)⁴ *a* Madras; *s* England Aug. 15. Hall's visit to Napoleon.⁵

Oct. 15: Friendship (Cpt. Armet) *a* London; *s* Botany Bay Oct. 22. Has 101 women and 4 'grown children' convicts on board. Brought news of Santini's and Savary's arrests and Flahaut's marriage.

¹ *Pace* M. Masson (*Autour de Ste. Hélène*, ii. 276), Amherst left his cook, Laroche, behind. The French chef, Lepage, quitted Napoleon's service at the beginning of June, 1818, partly through ill-health, and partly owing to the exactions of the upper servants (L.P., 20,130, f. 59). Laroche, after serving Lowe for a year, went to Longwood on July 11 (L.P., 20,123, f. 63) and stayed till March 3, 1819 (L.P., 20,204, f. 74). Then came a Chinese interlude, and finally Chandelier arrived on September 20. In his edition of the Montholon *Letters*, M. Gonnard gives Lepage (p. 45) instead of Chandelier.

² Author of the *Events*.

³ The second gift of the kind.

⁴ Author of the *Narrative*.

⁵ Between this entry and the next must be placed Thackeray's visit as a small boy to Longwood. He does not state his ship, and its name could only be conjecture.

Oct. 21 : *Lord Cathcart* (Cpt. Farrence) *a* London ; *s* Bengal
 Oct. 23. Brought a letter from Planat.¹

1818.

Jan. 1 : *H.M.S. Blossom* (Capt. Hickey) *a* England and Rio ; *s* Rio Jan. 11. Brings Bathurst's instructions relating to the New House, and news of Latapie and the 'plotters' in South America.

Jan. 4-8 : *H.M.S. Phaeton*. (See Appendix C.) Visit of Governor Farquhar.

Feb. 3. *Cambridge* (Cpt. Toussaint). Brings news of death of Princess Charlotte.

Feb. 9 : *Hyaena* (Cpt. Hicks) *a* Cape with detachment of 66th, Surgeon Cunningham, etc.

Feb. 12 : *William Pitt* (Cpt. Graham) *a* Bengal ; *s* England
 Feb. 25, with Lowe's despatches relating to Gourgaud and O'Meara. Visit of Hon. C. F. Stuart.

Mar. 8 : *Marquis Camden* (Cpt. Larkins) *a* China ; *s* England
 Mar. 14. Departure of Gourgaud and Doveton.²

Mar. 13 : *Winchelsea* (Cpt. Adamson) *a* China ; *s* England
 Mar. 18. Departure of Balcombe and family.

Mar. 24 : *Vansittart* (Cpt. Dalrymple) *a* China.³ (And see May 23, 1821.)

Mar. 27 : *Lowther Castle* (Cpt. Mortlock) *a* China ; *s* England
 Apr. 3. Departure of Rev. Mr. Boys and family.⁴ (And see Feb. 13, 1820.)

Mar. 27 : *Carnatic* (Cpt. Blanchard) *a* Bengal ; *s* England
 Apr. 4. Visit of Vice-President Edmonstone to Bertrand.

June 1 : *General Kyd* (Cpt. Nairne) *a* China ; *s* England
 June 8. Visit of Don Pedro Echeverray, Spanish Supercargo. Departure of Lepage, Jeannette, Bernard and his wife.

¹ 'Planat's *wash* to Gourgaud,' as Bathurst terms it, when discussing with Lowe the censorship of family letters (L.P., 20, 118, f. 441).

² Returns with a knighthood by the *Bombay* on May 4, 1819.

³ Some members of the crew break bounds, elude the pickets, and enter the Longwood grounds—whence a minute inquiry presided over by Hodson (C.O., 247. 14).

⁴ Returns by the *Wakefield* on June 19, 1820.

June 26 : Lady Carrington (Cpt. Moore) *a* England. Brought Miss Mary Hall¹ and details of 66th Regt. Return of W. and E. Fowler.

July 3 : Northumberland (Cpt. Mitchell) *a* Bencoolen ; *s* London July 11. Departure of Stürmer and his wife.²

July 8 : Metcalfe (Cpt. Havard) *a* Bengal ; *s* London July 13. Lt. Chesney's interview with Bertrand.³

July 14 : H.M.S. Dotterel (Cpt. Gore) *a* England ; remains seven months on the Station. Brought despatches relating to Gourgaud's 'revelations.'

Aug. 2 : H.M.S. Griffin. (See Log, Appendix C.)

Aug. 15 : H.M.S. Redpole (Lt. Lisson) *a* Ascension, and remains six months in the Roads.⁴

Aug. 22 : David. (See Log, Appendix C.)

¹ Governess to Bertrand's children ; married the amanuensis St. Denis. 'She has rather an agreeable presence and her husband is very fond of her ; so that in a House where there are so many men and so few of the other sex, some fresh disquiets may arise' (Lowe to Bathurst, L.P., 20,129, f. 141). The wedding took place on October 16, 1819. A merry party of seven—Noverraz and his wife (themselves married on July 11, 1819), Pierron, Gentilini, Etienne (Bertrand's steward), and the two—went down to Plantation Church and were joined by Chaplain Vernon, and afterwards adjourned for the collation, aptly enough, to Rosemary Hall (L.P., 20,212, f. 99).

² Stürmer proceeded *via* Europe to Rio de Janeiro in an official capacity, much to the surprise of Lowe, who confided to his friend Thornton at that place that he suspected in the appointment a Napoleonic bias on Metternich's part ; and Thornton concurred (L.P., 20,233, f. 143). However, Lowe kept up a friendly correspondence with Stürmer, and lost no time in apprising him of Napoleon's death (see May 29, 1821).

³ Chesney, of the Bengal Artillery, landed and met Bertrand casually at Porteous'. The matter was reported to Reade, who summoned the subaltern to 'stand and deliver' in the style approved of at Plantation. I have not found the D.A.G.'s note to Chesney, but from the injured tone of that officer's reply one can infer the sort of missive he received (L.P., 20,207, f. 113). One is reminded of the righteous indignation of Col. Keating at Lowe's slanderous denunciation of him to Bathurst (L.P., 20,233, f. 30).

⁴ Captain Paisley died at Ascension shortly before O'Meara's passage.

Aug. 25 : Léandre (Cpt. Wyerr) *a* Coast of Africa ; *s* Sep. 29(?) Brazil. Calls for anchor and cables.¹

Sep. 13 : Hastings (Cpt. Killivick) *a* Calcutta ; *s* England
Sep. 19. Visit of Mrs. Col. Fagan, Hon. Mrs. Harris, Mr. Fortescue, R.N., etc.

Sep. 15 : H.M.S. Tees (Cpt. Rennie) *a* England, and remains on Station. Return of Cpt. Stanfell, R.N., with despatches. (And see Ap. 12, 1821.)

Sep. 19 : Lusitania, storeship (Cpt. Brash), *a* London ; *s* India
 Nov. 9. Brought books and clandestine letters from Holmes.

Oct. 9 : General Stewart (Cpt. Granger) *a* Portsmouth ; *s*. New South Wales *Oct. 14*, with 250 Convicts on board. Brought despatches and newspapers reporting the marriages of the Dukes of Kent, Clarence, and Cambridge, and the return of Burdett and Romilly for Westminster.

Oct. 26 : Bombay Castle (Cpt. Mann) *a* Bombay ; *s* Liverpool
Oct. 29. Departure of Col. Lascelles and Lt. Reardon.

Nov. 2 : Prince Regent (Cpt. White) *a* Mauritius and Cape ; *s* Portsmouth *Nov. 26.* Visits of Theodore Hook, Head, etc., to Longwood on *Nov. 9* and *15*.²

Dec. 21 : Caesar (Cpt. Taylor) *a* Calcutta ; *s* London *Dec. 23.* Visit of Lord and Lady Muskerry to Longwood grounds on *Dec. 23.*

1819.

Jan. 11 : Cossack (Cpt. Beattie) *a* Mauritius ; *s* London
Jan. 13. Visit of Countess Holmer.

¹ French trader. Only three French ships are recorded as touching. This is the first given in the 'Sailing List.' The others were *l'Indien*, which called for water on December 8, 1820, and *le Charles*, which put in on October 26, 1818. The 'French frigate' referred to by Reade on April 29, 1817, is not officially recorded. Gourgaud besides gives the *Eléphant* and another on December 11, 1817.

² *Mem. :* 'July 1, 1818. Arrived but did not anchor the American ship *Tea-Plant* (And. Scott) from Bombay bound to New York. Had spoken the *Prince Regent* on June 17. 5 leagues from the Cape. She had been 3 months from the Isle of France with troops on board for England ; had been one month dismasted and was standing for Simon's Bay to repair damages' (L.P., 20,161, f. 25). The recollection whereof may possibly have further vitriolized the 'Facts' !

Jan. 24: Trincomalee (Cpt. Bridges) *a* Cape ; *s* England
Jan. 30 with batch of invalids, including Stokoe.

Feb. 4: Earl Balcarres (Cpt. Jameson) *a* China ; *s* London

Feb. 7. Visit of Mr. Baynes, Supercargo, and Cpt. Jameson to Bertrand.

Feb. 12: 'The Long Boat of the Ship *Oswin* (Cpt. Kay), from Calcutta to London,' *a*.¹

Feb. 20—Mar. 5: Five Indiamen call in company on way home from China and Bengal. Capt. Campbell calls on Bertrand. Visits of Captains and parties to Longwood ; Lady Annabella McLeod, etc.²

Mar. 16: *H.M.S. Redwing* (Cpt. Hunn) *a* England with despatches from Bathurst, enclosing O'Meara's Letter to the Admiralty.

Mar. 26: *Astell* (Cpt. Creswell) *a* Bengal ; *s* England Ap. 3. Visit of Mr. Ricketts to Napoleon.

Mar. 29: *Albinia* (Cpt. Lynn) *a* Cork. Brings part of the 20th Regt., Major Jackson, Surgeon Rutledge, etc. (And see Feb. 7, 1821.)

Apr. 6: *Windermere* (Cpt. Williams). *Ibid.*, *Ibid.* ; Major Hogg, etc.

Apr. 7: *Oromocto* (Cpt. Strickland). *Ibid.*, *Ibid.* ; Major Tovey ; *s* England Ap. 29 with detachment of 66th Regt., Dr. Baxter, etc.

May 24: *Regent* (Cpt. Ripley) *a* China ; *s* England May 30. Departure of Bingham and his wife.³

¹ 'The ship foundered at sea on Jan. 31 in Lat. 31°18', Long. 11°51', Captain, Crew and Passenger (Lt. Nicholson of the 71st) saved and arrived in the Long Boat.' One of the sensations of the Captivity.

² These 'ship's parties,' which were very frequent at this period, came up 'to see the New House,' then building. They had no intercourse with the 'Family,' as the Orderly Officer is at pains to register.

³ The *Regent* arrived and sailed in company with the *Castle Huntly*. Lowe much regretted not having stopped the two Indiamen, in order to investigate the 'Ripley affair' (Forsyth, iii. 165). His mortification is thus expressed to Bathurst: 'If the vessel was worth half a million sterling and her companion the same, I would have stopped them both and made Capt. Ripley responsible' (L.P., 20, 126, f. 376). As it was, Bingham

May 30 : Phoenix (Cpt. White) *a* Bengal ; *s* England
June 7.¹

June 24 : Lady Campbell (Cpt. Marquis) *a* Bengal ; *s* England
July 2. Departure of Madame de Montholon.²

June 26 : Larkins (Cpt. Locke) *a* England with despatches from Bathurst. Return of Balcombe's servant. He and his family remain in England.

July 3 : Dunira (Cpt. Hamilton) *a* China ; *s* London July 8.
Departure of Basil Jackson,³ Mrs. Hodson, Knipe,⁴ Mason, and invalids. (And see July 12, 1821.)

was enjoined by Reade to interrogate Ripley on the journey (see Appendix E).

¹ Brought Mr. Fraser I.C.S.'s gift to Napoleon of 'Delhee-made preserves and pickles' (L.P., 20,207, f. 182). They took long enough to come, his accompanying letter being dated 'Delhi frontier, Aug. 17, 1818' (L.P., 20,204, f. 56). He had tried the year before to send several pairs of falcons for the Emperor's sport, but they had died before reaching Calcutta. More than five centuries before, Marco Polo had borne witness to the excellence of the falcons of that region.

² Amongst her fellow-passengers were the Captain's wife, Surgeon Greerson, and Captain Willin, 21st Light Dragoons. Lowe suspected she had papers stitched in her clothing, but did *not* order a search. Her baggage was examined, and of two suspicious small boxes one contained shoes and the other marmalade ! (L.P., 20,127, f. 6). Amongst the sundries she was entrusted with was the sum of 4,000 francs sent by Pierron to his 'cher papa' (L.P., 20,204, f. 89). Madame de Montholon proceeded to Brussels, where she received from Gourgaud the letter I print on p. 139. Reade vouchsafes this item : 'A woman who accompanied Madame de Montholon to Brussels says Basil Jackson is living in the same house with her' (L.P., 20,131, f. 369). The preposition is awkward.

³ 'Lieut. Jackson is the officer by whom the several plans of Longwood House, Grounds, etc., that have been sent home, were drawn out' (L.P., 20,127, f. 44).

⁴ It seems likely that Kneippes, or Knipe (the latter form figures as early as 1689), took his daughter, the 'Rosebud,' with him, and that after breaking many hearts at home she met her fate on board. For in May, 1820, she was married by Chaplain Vernon to 'D. Hamilton,' presumably a relation of the Captain (L.P., 20,233, f. 123). By a coincidence, the *Dunira*, *Ceylon*, *Havannah*, *Bombay*, and *Catherine Griffiths* were all captained by Hamiltons.

July 22-25: *H.M.S. Phaeton*. (See Log, Appendix C.) Visit of Capt. Dillon to his relative Mdme. Bertrand.¹

July 27: *La Belle Alliance* (Cpt. Rolfe) a Calcutta; s London Jy. 31. Visit of H.E. Mr. Elout, Mr. Doeff, and Raden Ario.²

Aug. 6: *Centurion* (Cpt. Meade) a England. Brought Hook's 'Facts.'

Aug. 21: *H.M.S. Abundance*, storeship (Lt. Campbell), a England; remains at anchor at Lemon Valley till the end. Brings back Stokoe for his Court-martial, and details of 66th under Cpt. Dunn. (And see June 13, 1821.)

Sep. 13: *Hyaena* s England, with Stokoe, 'dismissed the Navy.'

Sep. 20: *Snipe* (Cpt. Swain) a London, with Antommarchi, Buonavita, Vignali, Chandelier and Coursot; and letters and books.³

Sep. 22: *H.M.S. Menai* (Cpt. Moersby) a Portsmouth; s Cape Sep. 30. Brought £56,000 in gold for the Island.⁴

Dec. 19: *Catherine* (Cpt. Knox) a Madras; s London Dec. 23. Visit of Lady Gordon.

Dec. 27: *St. Helena* (E.I.C. Schooner, Cpt. Atkinson) a Cape with a female servant for Longwood.⁵

¹ Captain Dillon, when in command of the *Horatio*, had paid a first visit to the Bertrands on October 22, 1816.

² Commissary-General of the Dutch Colonies, Dutch Agent in Japan, and son of a native chief of Java respectively. For a very interesting account of their conversation at Plantation see Lowe's letter to Bathurst of July 31 (L.P., 20, 127, ff. 115-118).

³ *Inter alia* eighteen sets of O'Meara's *Exposition*, 'packed to look like religious tracts' as Lowe puts it (L.P., 20, 128, f. 239). The Surgeon brought besides a presentation copy for Napoleon 'superbly bound in red morocco,' and snuff-boxes with portraits of Joseph, the King of Rome, etc. (*Ibid.*, f. 220). For list of books see L.P., 20, 204, f. 106.

⁴ Returned to the Island January 1, 1820, and remained most of the year, usually acting as the 'Weather' or 'Windward Cruiser' and chasing suspicious strangers.

⁵ 'The Company's Schooner' was much in evidence during the Captivity, and plied to and from the Cape, Ascension, Benguela, etc., on countless errands connected with the Government and local affairs of St. Helena as distinct from the Detention. The schooner was originally sent out by the Admiralty, and 'placed at the disposal of the Island Government' on January 12,

1820.

Jan. 2 : H.M.S. Heron a England ; s Ascension Jan. 15.¹

Jan. 14 : York (Cpt. Talbot) a Bombay ; s England Jan. 16.
Visit of Lady Anstruther.

Jan. 25 : H.M.S. Sappho (Cpt. Plumridge) a Cape ; s England Jan. 27. Visit of Lord Ch. Somerset and daughters to Longwood grounds.²

Feb. 7 : Albinia (Cpt. Lynn) a Bombay ; s London Feb. 8.
Visit of Sir Evan Nepean.

Feb. 13 : Lowther Castle (Cpt. Mortlock) a China ; s London Feb. 17. Visit of Sir T. Metcalfe, Chief Supercargo.

Mar. 7 : London (Cpt. Cameron) a London ; s Bencoolen Apr. 12. Brings a case of books for sale to Longwood. Return of Col. Lascelles.

Mar. 29 : Mary Wellington (Cpt. Wood) a Bengal ; s London Apr. 6. Visit of Mrs. Rees.³

Apr. 21 : General Harris (Cpt. Welstead) a China ; s London May 3. Departure of Balmain.

May 1 : Lady Melville (Cpt. Stewart) a England. Brings Fleury de Chaboulon's book, and news of assassination of Duc de Berri and Thistlewood Plot. Return of Mrs. Lascelles.

1815—one had almost said in anticipation of imminent events. [One recalls that St. Helena was mooted during the Elba period.] In June, 1821, at the general exodus, the *St. Helena* 'brought home the guns of the R.A. and the old furniture from Longwood' (L.P., 20,207, f. 381). Her end was a sad one. On April 6, 1830, she was boarded by pirates, who put the Captain, Surgeon, and others to death and sent her half-scuttled adrift (*St. Helena Records*).

¹ Cruised to and from the Cape, Ascension, etc., during the next fifteen months, and was one of the five H.M. ships at anchor when Napoleon died. Sailed two days later with the despatches announcing the death.

² During Somerset's absence from the Cape Sir Rufus Donkin acted as Governor, and incurred this from Reade: 'I am not much surprised at his mistake about the *Minerva*. I fear he is as wild as ever' (L.P., 20,207, f. 232).

³ On being refused leave to call on Madame Bertrand (see p. 22) Mrs. Rees went up to Longwood 'to see the New House,' and impulsively ran up to one of the children and introduced herself as a countrywoman' (L.P., 20,129, f. 321).

May 4 : *Eclipse* (Cpt. Stewart) *a* Ceylon ; *s* London *May 5*. Visit of Gen. Sir Robt. and Lady Brownrigg.

May 18 : *Dorsetshire* (Cpt. Lyde) *a* England ; *s* China *July 3*.¹

June 18 : *E.I.C.'s Larkins* and *Streatham* in company *a* China ; *s* London *June 22*. Departure of Wynyard.

July 5 : *H.M.S. Hardy* (Lt. Kent) *a* Cape. Brings books from Lady Holland and news of Bertrand's Father's death. (And see Mar. 31, 1821.)

July 14 : *H.M.S. Vigo*. (See Appendix C and Appendix D.)

Aug. 16 : *H.M.S. Minden* (Cpt. Patterson) *a* India ; *s* England *Aug. 19*. Visit of Adml. Sir Rich. King and Capt. Walpole.

Aug. 21 : *Admiral Berkeley* (Cpt. Gulliver) *a* Cape ; *s* London *Sep. 3*. Departure of Col. South and family.²

Aug. 23 : *Bristol* (Cpt. Buckham) *a* England ; *s* India *Aug. 30*. Arrival of Br.-Gen. Coffin.

Sep. 15 : *General Palmer* (Cpt. Truscott) *a* Madras ; *s* Sep. 20 England. Visit of Governor Elliot.

Sep. 22 : *H.M.S. Camel*,³ storeship (Cpt. Webb), *a* Cape ; *s* Cape *Oct. 4* with Gentilini and Juliette,⁴ and returns to

¹ Brought a large consignment of the *Morning Chronicle* and other papers. Captain Lyde came in for a very unusual 'function.' On May 25 a private of the 66th was executed at Rupert's Valley in the presence of the Sheriff, a subaltern, a sergeant, a corporal, a drummer, and eighteen men (L.P., 20,207, f. 258).

² After the double Court-Martial (L.P., 20,130, f. 369).

³ Plied between the Island and the Cape for some time with stores, packets from Europe, etc., among which a case of books for Napoleon from Lady Holland delivered on February 27, 1821. The vessel was suspected by Lowe, who writes secretly to Plampin : 'The *Camel* may possibly be availed of, even without the actual privy of the officers, who would probably look no further than the address' [of clandestine letters]. Plampin replies he will take every precaution (L.P., 20,129, ff. 208-210).

⁴ The two servants touched at St. Helena on their return to Europe on February 9, 1821. They tried to get into communication with Longwood, the maid sending ostrich feathers and Cape beans for 'Monsieur Napoléon' [Bertrand]. Lowe pressed Lambert to get them away 'as some inconvenience resulted in many ways on a former occasion' (L.P., 20,132, f. 119). The

St. Helena Dec. 19 with Dr. Shortt.¹ (And see May 10, 1821.)

Oct. 25 : *H.M.S. Owen Glendower* (Cpt. Hon. R. Spencer) a Rio ; s Rio Dec. 2. Visit of Cpt. Spencer to Bertrand and Montholon.

Nov. 14 : *H.M.S. Cygnet* (Cpt. Bennett) a England and Cape ; cruised to Ascension, etc., and s Cape Mar. 14, 1821. Brought books from Lady Holland.

Dec. 17 : *H.M.S. Rosario* (Cpt. Hendry) a Cape. Remains till the end. (And see May 16, 1821.)

1821.

Feb. 26 : *Lord Hungerford* (Cpt. O'Brien) a Calcutta ; s England Mar. 11. Visit of Sir E. and Lady Colebrooke and Mr. Russell, Resident, to Bertrand.

Mar. 2 : *Castle Forbes* (Cpt. Reid) a Bombay ; s England Mar. 3. Visit of Mr. Campbell, who sends a gift to Napoleon (L.P., 20,132, f. 212).

Mar. 7 : *H.M.S. Beaver* (Cpt. Marryat²) a England. Remains till the end.

reference is to Piontkowski on the *Orontes*. The Elban Gentilini feathered his nest pretty well at St. Helena. Besides various sums of money he despatched to his father, he amassed, to Lowe's surprise, 2,000 louis against his departure. As Montholon explained, 'he was in the habit of rendering himself useful to everybody at Longwood' (L.P., 20,130, f. 167).

¹ Shortt brought a note from a Russian diplomat, whom he had met at Rome in January, 1820, for 'Baron Paul de Hahn, Russian Commissioner at St. Helena' (L.P., 20,204, f. 109). Balmain's successor *in partibus*, apparently.

² The Novelist. The D.N.B. conveys a wrong impression in stating that Captain Marryat 'was sent home with the Despatches after Napoleon's death.' The Despatches were carried by *H.M.S. Heron* (Captain Hanmer) in charge of Captain Crokot of the 20th, for the Governor, and Captain Hendry, R.N., of the *Rosario*, for the Admiral. She sailed on May 7 at 11.45 p.m. On May 8 Marryat, at his own request, was given the command of the *Rosario* 'to go home on family affairs.' He sailed on the 16th with duplicate and additional despatches (*Lambert's Journal*, Appendix D). It was on the 6th, at 8 a.m., that Marryat sketched with an austere frugality of line his noted profile of

Mar. 8 : *H.M.S. Redwing* (Cpt. Hunn) s England. Chaplain Carter of the *Vigo* ' goes home to be ordained priest.'

Mar. 10 : *Orwell* (Cpt. Saunders) a China ; s London Mar. 17. Departure of Buonavita.¹

Mar. 13 : *H.M.S. Repulse* (Cpt. Patterson) a England ; s China Apr. 14. Brought cases of books from Lady Holland and Bathurst, and papers referring to the Declaration of Troppau.²

Mar. 19 : *Warren Hastings* (Cpt. Larkins) a Cape ; s England Mar. 25. Brought books and letters from Lady Jerningham.

Mar. 25 : *Duke of York* (Cpt. Campbell) a China ; s England Mar. 31. Mr. Ellis' second visit. (See June 27, 1817.)

Mar. 31 : *H.M.S. Hardy*, tender (Lt. Lambert), a Cape ; s Mauritius Apr. 4. Brings Dr. Burton of the 66th.

Apr. 12 : *H.M.S. Tees* (Cpt. Rennie) a Cape ; s England Apr. 16 with despatches.³

Apr. 20 : *Canning* (Cpt. Patterson) a China ; s London Apr. 25. Col. Blacker's visit to Bertrand.

[May 5 : DEATH OF NAPOLEON. H.M. Ships at Anchor : *Vigo* (Cpt. Brown), flagship ; *Heron* (Cpt. Hanmer) ; *Beaver* (Cpt. Marryat) ; *Rosario* (Cpt. Hendry) ; *Abundance* (Lt. Campbell), storeship. Two other vessels in Roads : *E.I.C.'s Waterloo* and the *Mary*, a coalship from Newcastle.]

May 7 : *H.M.S. Heron* s England at 11.45 p.m. with the

Napoleon on the camp-bed, which he gave to Crotat, and which was published on July 16 by S. & J. Fuller as a lithograph and also as an etching, and on July 18 by J. Watson as a soft-ground etching. A day or two before he sailed he drew the view of the Tomb which Sutherland executed in aquatint. Five small willows overhang the stone. Lowe states distinctly there were ' two large ' ones (L.P., 20, 133, f. 200).

¹ The Abbé is the bearer of alarming letters from Bertrand, Montholon, Antommarchi and others, announcing the hopeless condition of the Emperor. He reaches Rome early in July, and delivers his messages to Pauline. On July 11 she writes her pathetic appeal to the English Government (Add. MSS., 30, 109, f. 197).

² See p. 17.

³ ' Anchored at 7 p.m. by special permission.' A rare instance of the suspension of the ' sunset to sunrise ' regulation.

Despatches ; she reaches Spithead at 9.30 p.m. on July 4.¹ (And see Mar. 7, 1821, *note*.)

May 10 : *H.M.S. Camel* (Cpt. Webb) a Cape ; s England
May 27. Departure of Ct. and Ctess. Bertrand and family, Ct. Montholon, Prof. Antommarchi, Vignali the Priest, Ct. Marchand, and the Emperor's retinue. Also Col. Nicol and a detachment of the 66th Regt. They reach Portsmouth on Aug. 1.

May 16 : *H.M.S. Rosario* (Capt. Marryat) s England. (See Mar. 7, 1821, *note*.)

May 23 : *Vansittart* (Cpt. Dalrymple) a England.²

May 29 : *Mary* (Cpt. Atkinson) s Rio, with Lambert's letter to Sir T. Hardy and Lowe's letters to Stürmer, Thornton, and Cunninghame.

June 4 : *James Sibbald* (Cpt. Forbes) a Calcutta ; s London
June 11 with Col. Dunbar and 40 men of the 66th Regt.

June 13 : *H.M.S. Abundance* (Lt. Campbell) s England with detachment of 66th ; and Despatches, Inventories and Las Cases' Papers in charge of Dr. Burton.³

July 12 : *Dunira* (Cpt. Hamilton) a China ; s England July 26. Departure of Lowe and Staff.⁴ They reach the Isle of Wight on Sep. 21.

July 21 : *Lady Melville* (Cpt. Stewart) a India ; s England
July 29. Departure of Montchenu.⁵

¹ Two copies of the Log : one places the sailing just before midnight and the other just after. As both agree that Crokat and Hendry came on board at 11.30 and she sailed at once, the above time is presumably correct.

² After fourteen weeks' passage, the longest made by any Indiaman or warship during the Captivity. She brought Bathurst's despatch of February 16 'of sympathy with Napoleon,' which arrived too late (Forsyth, iii. 493).

³ Burton was not told the nature of the packet ; see Lowe's letter to Bathurst of June 13, wherein, too, is treated the important question of the plaster cast of Napoleon's head taken by Burton after Antommarchi had failed : 'The Bertrands have kept the face ; Dr. Burton has preserved the back, or craniological, part, etc.' (L.P., 20, 140, f. 115).

⁴ With the exception of Gorrequer, who remained till June 20, 1822. Ibbetson stayed on until the spring of 1823.

⁵ Montchenu himself does not mention his ship, and his Editor, whilst giving correctly July 28 as the date of his embarkation,

Sep. 11 : *H.M.S. Vigo* s Cape and England. Departure of Lambert.

1822.

Apr. 29 : *Orwell* s England with the final detachment of the 20th Regt., and therewith the last of the custodians.

NAPOLEON IS AT REST.

says he went 'with Napoleon's suite'—*i.e.*, by the *Camel*; which M. Masson thinks he ought to have done, and 'so brought the great news to the French Court.' Even then Montchenu would have been a whole month behindhand. '*E! trente jours, c'est beaucoup !*'

APPENDIX C

EXTRACTS FROM LOGS OF H.M. SHIPS.

BELLEROPHON (Cpt. Maitland).

July 13, 1815 : Observed the white flag all along the shore. *July 15* : At 7 a.m. received Napoleon Bonaparte (late Emperor of the French) and his suite. *July 16* [different hand] : Anchored *H.M.S. Myrmidon* at 9 a.m. At 10 the late Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte and the Captain went on board the Admiral. At 12.40 p.m. manned the yards at the return of Napoleon Bonaparte. *July 24* : Came to in Torbay. *July 26* : Plymouth Sound. *July 31* : Came on board Adm. Lord Keith and a soldier officer [Bunbury] with despatches. *Aug. 4* : Sailed out to meet *Northumberland*. *Aug. 7* : At 10 a.m. came on board Rr. Adm. Sir G. Cockburn [with Lord Keith]. At 2 p.m. (*sic*) Adm. Lord Keith left the ship. Delivered Napoleon Bonaparte and suite to *Northumberland*. *Aug. 8-19* : Moored at Plymouth. *Aug. 16* : Delivered the Duke de Rovigo and Gen. Lallemand to *Eurotas*. *Aug. 17* : Received some of the former retinue of Bonaparte. *Aug. 20* : At Spithead. *Sep. 13* : At Sheerness. At sunset hauled down the pendant.

CONQUEROR¹ (Cpt. Davie, then Wallis, then Stanfell).

Feb. 23, 1817 : At Spithead. Manned yards to receive Admiral. *Mar. 15* : Weighed and made sail. *May 28* :

¹ Of all the vessels on the St. Helena and Cape Station during the Captivity, the flagship *Conqueror* is the most important. Barring a few days' cruise to windward during a period of great sickness, she remained at anchor in the Roads for over three years, longer than the other three flagships added together (*Northumberland*, eight months; *Newcastle*, twelve and a half

Moored in Simon's Bay. *June 6*: Received 37 Frenchmen who had been shipwrecked. *June 7*: Saluted Lord Amherst the Ambassador, with 15 guns, on embarking. *June 17*: Sailed for St. Helena. *June 29*: Came to off Jamestown, and found *Newcastle, Julia, Podargus, Falmouth, and Griffin*. [Brought case of books for Napoleon from Lord Holland and the Duke of Bedford.] *July 2*: Manned yards on Lord Amherst's embarking. *Jan. 25, 1818*: Wallis supersedes Davie invalided home. *Sep. 17*: Stanfell supersedes Wallis invalided home. *Aug. 30 and 31 and Sep. 1 and 2, 1819*: At 8 made signal for Court Martial [Stokoe's]. *July 20, 1820*: Sailed for England. *Sep. 9*: Reached Spithead.

CORMORANT (T. Hodgson, Master).

Oct. 8, 1815: At 8 a.m. came on board for a passage to St. Helena, Capt. Piontkowski (*per* Navy Board Order, dated Sep. 30). Sailed. *Dec. 29*: Came to in James' Bay. *Dec. 30*: At noon Cpt. Piontkowski left the ship to go to Bonaparte's residence at Long Wood.

DAVID¹ (T. Hunton, Master).

[Reached St. Helena from England on *May 13, 1816*. Then plied to and from the Cape and Benguela for stores, bullocks, etc. Left St. Helena on *Oct. 19, 1816*, with Piontkowski and the three servants, and reached Cape *Nov. 10*. On *Aug. 22, 1818*, sailed from St. Helena for Rio de Janeiro with Balmain and de Gors on a pleasure-trip, and brought them back on *Dec. 3*; also specie in charge of Lt. Edmonds of the 66th. On *Jan. 15, 1819*, sailed for England with invalids of the 66th.]

EUROTAS (Cpt. Lillicrap²).

July 26, 1815: Plymouth Sound. Arrived *Bellerophon* and *Myrmidon*. *July 31 (sic)*: Received on board 8 officers and months; *Vigo*, fourteen months). Hence the bulkiness of Plampin's *Journal*. Sir R. Wilson's son was a midshipman on the *Conqueror*, and was recommended to Lowe by his father, who 'remarked that it was vain to combat against destiny' (L.P., 20, 207, f. 110).

¹ Log missing. Compiled from other sources.

² An account of Lillicrap's cruelty, written by Savary, is given in the Wilson Papers after the *Letters*.

13 other persons of Bonaparte's retinue. *Aug. 7*: Discharged 4 of the Frenchmen (servants) into the *Northumberland*. At 1.20 (*sic*) Bonaparte, with Marshal Bertrand, Ct. Montholon, General Las Cases was removed from *Bellerophon* to *Northumberland*. *Aug. 17*: Discharged 11 of Bonaparte's suite into *Bellerophon* [for transfer to France]. Received the Duke of Rovigo and Gen. Lallemant for a passage [to Malta].

[If the above figures are correct, the transfers work out as follows :

		<i>Officers.</i>	<i>Domestics.</i>	<i>Surgeon.</i>
<i>July 31</i>	..	+ 8 ^a	+ 13	—
<i>Aug. 7</i>	..	—	- 4 ^b	+ 1 ^c
		8	9	1 = 18 for 10 days.
<i>Aug. 17</i>	..	- 1	- 9	- 1 ^d
<i>Ibid.</i>	..	- 1	(Piontkowski into <i>St. George</i>).	
<i>Ibid.</i>	..	+ 2	(Rovigo and Lallemant).	
<i>Left 8 for Malta.</i>				

^a The seven of the *Myrmidon* (*q.v.*) plus Planat.

^b Cipriani, Santini, Archambault *cadet*, Rousseau.

^c Maingaud, from *Bellerophon*, returning to her on the 17th.

^d Ste. Catherine, Maingaud, and nine servants into *Bellerophon* for France.]

EURYDICE (Cpt. Wauchope¹).

June-July, 1816: Moored at the Nore. *July 14*: Spithead. *July 17*: Orders to sail sent by Admiralty (C.O., 247. 7). *July 25*: Weighed anchor. *Sep. 29*: Reached St. Helena. [By her Bathurst wrote Lowe 14 Despatches and Private Letters dated from June 14 to July 20 affecting the Limits, the October Declarations, the Expenses, and Piontkowski's fate.] She remains 4 months in the Bay and sails for the Cape on *Jan. 12, 1817*. On *Mar. 14, 1819*, she brings £24,000 in gold for St. Helena from Rio in charge of Cpt. Richards of the 66th.

FORTH (Cpt. Sir Wm. Bolton, Bt.).

July 24, 1815: Spithead. Received on board H.R.H. the Duchesse d'Angoulême and suite. Manned yards and saluted

¹ Captain Wauchope was presented to Napoleon on January 11, 1817.

with 21 guns. Weighed. *July 25* : Came to in Dieppe Roads and found *H.M.S. Orontes*, *Ringdove*, and *Alert*. [By a coincidence the *Duchesse d'Angoulême*, a French frigate, was lying close to the *Bellerophon*, when Rovigo and Lallemand were transferred to the *Eurotas*. Hence their momentary fear of France as a destination.—*Planat*, p. 254.]

GRIFFIN (Cpt. Murray, then Wright¹).

May 19, 1816 : Spithead. Weighed and Sailed. *July 24* : Reaches St. Helena, with Papers announcing the Prorogation of the French Chambers and Bertrand's condemnation. *Dec. 30* : At 3 Ct. Las Cases and his son came on board for a passage to the Cape. *Jan. 22, 1817* : Came to in Simon's Bay. Plied to and fro. *Aug. 31, 1817* : Reached St. Helena from the Cape with letters from Las Cases and the *Manuscrit venu de Ste. Hélène*. *Oct. 17, 1817* : Arrived at St. Helena from Ascension with Cpt. Jenkins Jones and crew of *H.M.S. Julia* lost at sea. *Aug. 2, 1818* : Sailed from St. Helena with O'Meara and Cpt. Cairnes.

HAVANNAH (Cpt. Hamilton).

Aug. 8, 1815 : Sailed and joined *Northumberland*. *Oct. 12* : Reached St. Helena. Found *Ferret* and *Icarus*. *Oct. 24* : Sailed for Tristan d'Acunha, the Cape, etc., with Despatches for Vice-Adm. Sir Ch. Tyler, C.-in-C. at the Cape. Cruised to and fro ; returned *Feb. 20, 1816*. *Apr. 23* : At 2 p.m. received Governor Wilkes on board, and fired salute of 13 guns. At 5 p.m. sailed for England ; with Lowe's first batch of Despatches, the Declarations, etc., etc. *June 15* : Reached Spithead.

LIFFEY (Cpt. Hancock).

July 27, 1815 : Plymouth. Boats rowing guard round *Bellerophon*. *July 28* : Received officers and servants, 21 in number, from *H.M.S. Bellerophon* and *Mermaidon* (sic). *Aug. 1* (sic) : Discharged French officers and servants into *Eurotas* (q.v.).

¹ Captain Wright was presented to the Emperor on June 19, 1817.

MYRMIDON (Cpt. Gambier).

July 15, 1815: Bonaparte and suite embarked on *Bellerophon*. *July 16*: Received 7 French officers¹ and 8 servants from *Bellerophon*, being part of Bonaparte's suite. *July 24*: Came to in Torbay and found *Slaney*. *July 26*: Sailed with *Bellerophon* and *Slaney* for Plymouth. [Here changed her berth to and fro at alternate bidding of *Eurotas* and *Bellerophon*.] *July 28*: Discharged all the French officers and suite of Bonaparte into *Liffey* (q.v.).

NEWCASTLE (Cpt. Meynell²).

Apr. 21, 1816: Spithead. Came on board Rr.-Adm. Sir P. Malcolm.³ Sailed, *Orontes* in company. *May 8, June 15*, etc.: Wholesale lashing of mutinous seamen. *May 16*: Trial of sailing with *Orontes*. *June 9-10*: Eclipse of the moon. *June 17*: At 2 hove to abreast the Fort of Buttermilk Point.⁴ At 4 came to off James Town. Found *Northumberland* and *Bucephalus*. *June 18*: Landed the Admiral, the Austrian,⁵ Russian, and French Commissioners under salute of 13 guns. Observed Ladder Hill Fort salute them. *Sep. 22*: At 1 fired salute of 21 guns in commemoration of H.M. Coronation. At 2 weighed and made sail for Cape. *Oct. 10*: Came to in Simon's Bay [18 days' passage]. *Nov. 10*: Arrived the *David* from St. Helena [with Piontkowski]. *Nov. 13*: Weighed and made sail. *Nov. 23*: Came to off James Town [10 days' passage]. *Dec. 30*: Sailed the *Griffin* (q.v.). *Jan. 3, 1817*: Sailed the *Orontes* (q.v.). *July 4, a.m.*: Sailed for England, *Julia* in company.⁶ *Aug. 14, p.m.*: Reached Spithead. [The second fastest passage home during the Captivity—42 days.]

¹ Rivière, Résigny, Schultz, Autric, Mercher, Piontkowski, and Ste. Catherine.

² Author of the *Conversations* (Humphreys, 1911).

³ With Balmain, Montchenu, and de Gors.

⁴ When was fired the challenge shot mentioned by Balmain.

⁵ Strictly, from the *Orontes*, with the Botanist Welle. The *Newcastle* brought, besides the despatches, the Warrant and the Act, twenty cases of books for Napoleon and Hobhouse's two volumes, which Lowe retained (L.P., 20, 115, f. 46).

⁶ With W. and E. Fowler as passengers. On July 2 the Admiral's Secretary, Irving, had a long interview with Napoleon.

NORTHUMBERLAND (Cpt. Ross).

June 1, 1815 : At Chatham. Lt. R. Dickinson commissions the ship. *June-July* : At the Nore, in the Downs. *July 31* : At Spithead. *Aug. 1* : Received 3 R.A. Officers and 40 men, and 4 field-pieces. *Aug. 2* : Hoisted flag of Rr.-Adm. Sir G. Cockburn. *Aug. 3* : Deserted from the boats 23 seamen. At 4.30 weighed and made sail. *Aug. 6, p.m.* : Berry Head bore N. b. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E. ; Start Point W.S.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W., about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles off shore. *H.M.S. Tonnant, Bellerophon*, a Frigate (*Eurotas*), and two Troopships (*Bucephalus* and *Ceylon*) in company. *Aug. 7* : At 11 (*sic*) Gen. Bonaparte came on board from *Bellerophon* accompanied by Lord Keith and the following persons—viz., Ct. Bertrand and his wife, three children, a servant and her child (*sic*), Gen. de Montholon, his wife, one child and a female servant, Gen. Gourgaud, Ct. de Las Cases, his son, and 9 servants and a surgeon [O'Meara].¹ At 4 hoisted in Boats. At 7.45 p.m. weighed and made sail. *Aug. 8* : Sent part of the 53rd on board the *Havannah*. *Aug. 24* : Funchal. Portuguese Consul came on board. *Sep. 21* : Saw a strange sail. *Peruvian* went in chase. *Sep. 22* : Noon. Lat. $0^{\circ} 54' N$. Long. $5^{\circ} 22' W$.² *Oct. 15* : At 10.25 a.m. anchored abreast of James Valley in 9 fathoms. Found at anchor *H.M.S. Havannah, Peruvian, Icarus, Zenobia, Ferret*, and *Redpole* ; *E.I. Lady Carrington*, extra, *E.I. Theodosia* ; a merchantman, and the Company's Schooner (*St. Helena*). *Oct. 17* : [At 8] P.m. landed Gen. Bonaparte and suite. *Oct. 18* : Landed artillery, stores, luggage of Gen. Bonaparte, and 43 boxes of dollars belonging to the Commissary. *Oct. 25* : Sent working-party of 112 seamen to Longwood. *Nov. 10* : Sent working-party on shore to assist in building houses for the reception of Gen.

¹ Other passengers were Bingham, Ibbetson, Dr. Verling, Captain Greatly, R.A., Janisch.

² Going one cipher better than Cockburn, Montholon states that Napoleon crossed the Line at noon on the day of the Autumnal Equinox, on the meridian of Greenwich, thus giving four zeros, of latitude, longitude, time and sun's declination. A simple calculation from the Log, allowing for a slight variation in the average rate of sailing, shows that the Equator was crossed on September 23 at 8 a.m., or so, 4 degrees west of Greenwich. That meridian was crossed quite unnecessarily on the 26th.

Bonaparte. [Parties of 50 to 200 sent up daily till March, 1816.] *Dec. 29*: Arrived *H.M.* storeship *Cormorant*, the *Thomas and Mary* transport. *Mar. 16, 1816*: Lt. Thorn appointed to command at Ascension. *June 19*: Weighed and made sail.

ORONTES (Cpt. Cochrane).

Apr. 17, 1816: Spithead. Came on board Baron Stürmer and his wife [and Welle]. *Apr. 21*: Sailed in company with flagship *Newcastle*. *June 18 (sic)*: Reached St. Helena. *June 19*: *Northumberland* sails for England. *Nov. 24*: At Cape Town with *Newcastle* and others. *Dec. 8*: Came on board Cpt. Piontkowski and 3 servants. *Dec. 9*: Sailed. *Dec. 18*: Reached St. Helena. Anchored in Roads. *Dec. 20*: Guard-boats rowing guard during night. *Jan. 3, 1817*: Sailed for England. *Feb. 15*: Reached Spithead. Found *H.M.S. Conqueror*.

PHAETON (Cpt. Stanfell,¹ then Dillon).

Jan. 29, 1816: At 3.30 p.m. sailed. [No mention of Lowe; a reference to his baggage.] *Feb. 14-18*: Funchal. Saluted Sir H. Lowe on returning on board with 13 guns. *Apr. 14*: At 5 p.m. came to abreast of James Town. *Apr. 15*: Landed Sir H. Lowe and suite—15 guns. *Apr. 30*: Sailed for Cape, etc. *Nov. 19, 1817*: At Port Louis (Mauritius). Came on board Governor Farquhar, and Commissioner Paget and suite. Sailed for Cape, etc. *Jan. 4-8, 1818*: St. Helena. *Feb. 21*: Spithead.

ST. GEORGE (Cpt. Nash).

Aug.-Oct., 1815: At moorings in the Hamoaze. [No mention of Piontkowski, who came on board on Aug. 17, and left on Oct. 8.]

SLANEY (Cpt. Sartorius).

July 14, 1815: At 10 p.m. came on board a French General [Gourgaud], Aide-de-Camp to Napoleon Bonaparte. Weighed and made sail out of the Bay. *July 23*: At 10.15 came to in Torbay.

¹ Captain Stanfell was presented to Napoleon on March 25, 1817.

SUPERB (Cpt. Senhouse).

July 13, 1815: Standing round the Cardinals. *July 15*: At 8 a.m. *Bellerophon* flying a flag of truce in Basque Roads. At 11.30 came to . . . at S. end of Island of Aix . . . and found here *Bellerophon* and *Myrmidon*, former having Napoleon Bonaparte on board. *July 16*: *Bellerophon* in company. Performed Divine service. [No mention of Napoleon's visit to Hotham, nor of any special *Te Deum* !]

TONNANT (Cpt. Brenton).

Aug. 4, 1815: At Plymouth, in company with *Bellerophon*, *Eurolas*, and *Myrmidon*. Adm. Lord Vt. Keith came on board. Hoisted his flag and hauled down that of Vice-Adm. Sir B. Hallowell. *Aug. 7*: At 2.30 (*sic*) Gen. Bonaparte and his suite were removed to *H.M.S. Northumberland*. At 6.30 weighed and made sail [back to Plymouth] with *Bellerophon*, *Eurolas*, and *Myrmidon* in company.

VIGO (Cpt. Brown).

Mar. 30, 1820: Sailed from Torbay. *June 16*: Reached Simon's Bay. *July 3*: Sailed for St. Helena. *July 14*: Came to off James Town. *May 5, 1821*: [*Death of Napoleon.*] Wind, S.S.E.; Sea, moderate; Weather, fine.¹ *May 9*: Fired 25 Minute Guns for Gen. Bonaparte's Funeral. *May 27*: Sailed the *Camel*. Returned her salute of 13 guns with 11. *Sep. 11*: Sailed for Cape, etc. *Jan. 1, 1822*: Reached Spithead.

¹ No mention of the hurricane in the evening (*cf.* Lambert's *Journal*, Appendix D). The Log of the *Heron* says: 'S.E. by E.; moderate; cloudy,' towards evening.

APPENDIX D

EXTRACTS FROM ADMIRALS' JOURNALS.¹

I.—MALCOLM'S (*H.M.S. Newcastle*).

1816. Reached St. Helena *June 17*. *June 19*: Ordered Captains of *Phaeton*, *Spey*, *Leveret*, *Racoon*, *Mosquito*, *Julia*, *Icarus*, and *Zephyr* to put themselves under my command. *Aug. 16*: Lt. Paine, of *H.M.S. Newcastle*, proceeds to coast of Africa to report upon the practicability of procuring supplies of live oxen. *Aug. 23*: Letter from Admiralty respecting O'Meara's allowance as Bonaparte's surgeon. *Sep. 21*: Wrote to Cpt. Stanfell [of *Phaeton*] in reply to his request to be acquainted with the person of Gen. Bonaparte. *Oct. 30*: Letter from Navy Board: allowance to C.-in-C. for stationery reduced to £30 p.a. *Dec. 28*: Order to Cpt. Wright to receive on board the *Griffin* for a passage to the Cape the Ct. Las Cases and his son, and there to await the orders of the Government of that place for their disposal.

1817. *Jan. 16*: General memorandum *re* issue of lemon-juice and sugar in lieu of vegetables, which cannot at this time be procured. *Feb. 10*: Circular letter transmitting memorandum from Secretary of Royal Society with observations on certain phenomena which were to take place in 1817 and 1818.

II.—PLAMPIN'S (*H.M.S. Conqueror*).

1816. *Nov. 25*: Appointed C.-in-C. on Cape of Good Hope station. Navy Board letter stating that the board-room of the *Conqueror* cannot be fitted agreeably to my request. Do. stating that directions have been given to erect a cabin on board for my Secretary.

¹ For Cockburn's, see his published Diary, *Buonaparte's Voyage to St. Helena*, Boston, Mass., 1833.

1817. *January*: Navy Board letter signifying that the Squadron under my command are to be allowed a Peace Establishment, the number of men as under:—*Phaeton* 255, *Orontes* 245, *Falmouth* 110, *Spey* 110, *Eurydice* 125, *Mosquito* 100, *Raccoon* 100, *Griffon* 85, *Julia* 85, *Podargus* 85, and *Leveret* 65. *Feb. 22*: Hoisted my flag on board *H.M.S. Conqueror*. Saluted flag of Adm. Thornborough. [*Feb. 26*: Stokoe falls already under official displeasure for not having at once brought invalids to notice.] *Mar. 15*: Weighed and made sail, *Hardy* tender (Lt. Prowse) in company. *June 6*: Letter to Capt. Davie, of the *Conqueror*, to receive the crew of H.M.C.M.'s late ship *Alouette*, wrecked on this coast, there being no vessel in Simon's Bay to convey them to France, victualling them at $\frac{1}{2}$ of a seaman's allowance. *June 13*: Examined the Naval Hospital [at Cape Town]; advised the wall to be raised, it being impossible to keep the convalescents in, from the facility of getting over it. *July 1*: Letter to Malcolm asking for Court Martial on Lt. Parker of the *Conqueror* for neglect of duty. [Malcolm replies there are not enough Captains on the Station.] *July 15*: Lowe writes for timber to build a house at Lemon Valley for the surgeon [in charge of Naval Hospital]. *Aug. 1*: Ordered a survey on the health of Cpt. Festing of *H.M.S. Raccoon* [late of *H.M.S. Falmouth*—he is invalided home]. *Sep. 1*, 10 p.m.: Slight shock of earthquake.

1818. *Jan. 2*: Letter to the Captains of the Ships of the Squadron with copy of Secy. Barrow's letter to me respecting Mr. Warden's publication. *Jan. 24*: Order to Cpt. Theed of *H.M.S. Leveret* to receive Cpt. Davie [*Conqueror*] and Lt. Bertram for a passage to England, invalided. *Mar. 22*: Letter from Mr. Sitford, High Peak Farm, stating poor result of potato crop, half being lost through the grubworm and the scarcity of water. *Spring—Summer*: Much illness in the Squadron. *Conqueror* cruises to windward. Weekly surveys on health. *July 2*: Sent the *Eurydice* and *Hyaena* 15 sick men each to proceed to the Cape for the benefit of their health. *July 11*: Came on board Baron Stürmer [farewell visit]. *July 18*: Letter from Cpt. Robinson of *H.M.S. Favorite* concerning the sudden disappearance of the Island of Saxenburg

[South Atlantic]. *Aug. 2*: Wrote to Admiralty that the *Griffin* did not sail on July 30 in consequence of a complaint that Mr. O'Meara's baggage had been plundered on its way down from Longwood. *Sep. 23*: Application from Mr. Aeneas McIntosh, purser of *H.M.S. Sappho*, for a Court Martial on Cpt. Plumridge, of that sloop. *Oct. 2*: Application from Cpt. Plumridge for a survey to be held on the health of Mr. Aeneas McIntosh (1). *Dec. 26*: Court Martial on Rev. P. Pounden, schoolmaster of *H.M.S. Favorite*.

1819. [*January—July*: Officers, petty officers, and seamen sent home sick *en masse* in charge of Surgeons Alexander, Phillips, Claperton, and others, themselves invalidated.] *Jan. 26*: Survey on diseased sheep on *Trincomalee* [invalid ship]. *Jan. 28*: Ordered Cpts. Rennie, Gore, and Hill to survey the health of Mr. J. Stokoe, together with such seamen of the Squadron as may be deemed fit objects for invaliding. *Feb. 1*: Appointed Jno. Hatley surgeon to *Conqueror* vice Stokoe (*pro tem.*). *Feb. 5*: Order to Hatley to destroy stores condemned by survey at the Naval Hospital at Lemon Valley. Sent *Hardy* tender to Ascension, for 'as many turtle as she can conveniently stow.' *Feb. 11*: Survey on rice, 'unfit to issue, being fusty and full of vermin.' *March 6*: 75 guns fired and general mourning ordered [for death of Queen]. *Mar. 17*: General Memorandum to the Squadron that no person whatever belonging to H.M. Ships under my command, or that may hereafter arrive, is to have any communication with General Bonaparte or his followers without my permission or that of the Governor of St. Helena. *Mar. 19*: Issued two books respecting the new mode of exercise for the great guns. *Mar. 23*: *H.M.S. Eurydice* sent to Cape 'to afford such assistance as the disturbed state of the Colony may require.' *Mar. 29*: Letters concerning scarcity of flour and wheat at the Cape. *Apr. 26*: General memorandum to Squadron to report to me whether they are provided with the Act of Apr. 11, 1816, 'for the more effectually detaining in custody Napoleon Buonaparte.' *Apr. 28*: Survey on flour, 'said to be fusty.' *May 28*: General memorandum to Squadron that no letter or packet is to be taken from any person on this Island for conveyance to Europe, the Cape,

South America, or elsewhere, unless from the Post Office (in a regular mail), or from the Secretary to the Government [Brooke], the D.A.G. [Reade], or my Secretary [Eliott].
June 13: Survey on flour, 'complained of as being sandy.'
June 15: Survey on 'sour wine and damaged bread.'
June 20: Survey on bread 'mouldy, musty, and unfit to issue.'
June 25: Court Martial on Purser McIntosh—dismissed the Navy.
June 28, Sep. 10: Survey on biscuits, 'weevilly, mouldy, full of vermin.'
July 5: Officers ordered to see a quantity of condemned stores thrown into the sea.
July 10: Ordered to certify that the coffins supplied by the Naval Storekeeper 'are necessarily required for the interment of an equal number of corpses' (!).
July 14, Aug. 3: Survey on flour, 'musty and full of vermin.'
July 18: Lts. Quin, Ralph, and others invalided home.
Aug. 18: Survey on pork, 'said to be rotten.'
Aug. 30—Sep. 2: Court Martial on Stokoe.
Sep. 3: Appointed Jno. Hately Surgeon to *Conqueror* vice Stokoe.
Sep. 28: Survey on a cask of pease.
Sep. 29: Order re disposal of French schooner *La Sylphe* captured by *H.M.S. Redwing*.
Sep. 30: *H.M.S. Menai* to proceed to the Cape to lend assistance during the Caffre War.
Oct. 9: Survey on an ullage of wine.
Oct. 25: Do. on defective stores and tobacco, 'musty and unfit to issue.'
Nov. 5: Court Martial on Capt. Hunn of *Redwing* [acquitted]. Royal Salute in commemoration of Gunpowder Plot.
Dec. 14: Order to issue half allowance of rum to the crews, only once a week and that on Sunday afternoon.¹

1820. *Jan. 3*: [Plampin promoted to Rear-Adm. of the *White*.] Shifted flag from blue to white at the mizen, returned salute of Squadron with 15 guns and of the Batteries with 17 guns.
Jan. 18, 12.20 p.m.: An English ship came off and was fired at by Bankes' Battery.
12.30 p.m.: She bore up

¹ A dreary year for the Squadron, this 1819, when officers and men fell sick by the shipload and were sent home by the tenderful, when Lemon Valley Hospital was supplemented by the one at High Peak, when Court-Martials were held at the rate of one a fortnight, burials thrice a week, and surveys on foul provisions every other day! Still, like the sparrows' twitter through the City's murk, comes the daily burden of the 'caulkers caulking' cheerfully!

and made all sail. Hoisted the recall flag and fired several guns to enforce it. At 1 *H.M.S. Menai* split and made all sail in chase. At 3 observed *Menai* boarding stranger.¹ *Apr. 22*: Death of George III. announced: standard half-mast, colours ditto, 81 minute guns. *Apr. 23*: General memorandum: The officers of the Squadron are to wear black crape on the left arm, and sword knots, and ornaments of the hat covered with same. *May 2*: Accession of George IV. —21 guns. *July 14*: *H.M.S. Vigo* arrives. *July 20*: *Conqueror* sails—17 guns fired and returned. *July 26*: At Ascension. *Aug. 23*: Death of Lt. Smithurst. *Sep. 9*: Came to at Spithead. Saluted flag of Adm. Sir G. Campbell.

III.—LAMBERT'S (*H.M.S. Vigo*).

1820. *March*: Spithead. *Mar. 30*: Sailed. *Apr. 18*: At Santa Cruz [Teneriffe]. Private request from Municipality for news of public affairs in Spain. *May 25*: Lat. 26° 48' S.; Long. 14° 48' W. (Cape of Good Hope, 1,860 miles). 'This day entered on my Station.' 48 on sick list. *June 16*: Simon's Bay. Found *H.M.S. Heron*, *Weymouth*, and *Hardy*. *H.M.S. Tees* arrived, struck by lightning. *July 3*: Sailed. *July 14*: St. Helena. *July 16*: Visited High Peak Hospital. *July 17*: Court-Martial on Master of *H.M.S. Brazen*. *July 21*: Called with the Governor at Longwood, and left a card for Gen. Bonaparte. *Aug. 4*: Letter to Agent-Victualler at the Cape to send seeds for gardens here, with a view to diminish the enormous expense of vegetables. *Sep. 20*: Wrote to Navy Board for flannel waistcoats. *Oct. 25*: Arrived *H.M.S. Owen Glendower* from River Plate with despatch from Comm. Sir T. Hardy and 7,000 dollars for this Island. *Oct. 29*: Letter from Capt. Spencer enclosing application from the drum-major of the 20th Regt. to the Purser of the *Owen Glendower* to sell him tobacco. Sent to Sir H. Lowe 'to cause inquiry to be made into the reason of this insulting application.' *Nov. 6*: 19 guns fired by each vessel in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot [the 5th was a Sunday].

¹ A similar incident occurred on the 16th with an American ship (L.P., 20,207, f. 208).

Dec. 26 : Capt. Rennie's report [*H.M.S. Tees*] : Punishments heavy ; explanation shall be sent to the Admiralty.

1821. *Jan. 5* : Letter to Lowe *re* the Master and Midshipmen of *H.M.S. Blossom*, who 'had strayed into Longwood more from ignorance than wilful disobedience.' *Jan. 15* : Appointed Mr. John Toovey to the *Redwing*. *Feb. 15* : Cholera morbus at Manilla. Arnott appointed Quarantine Officer by Lowe. *Mar. 6-8* : Very high surf—no communication with shipping—several men injured landing in harbour—women killed—wharves damaged. [Lowe's description, L.P., 20, 132, f. 231.] *Mar. 7-8* : *H.M.S. Beaver* and *Heron* arrive. Capt. Marryat places himself under Lambert's command. *Mar. 13* : Letter from Lowe, with reasons why the Master Attendant [Brabazon] cannot in many cases go on board ships coming in.¹ *Mar. 26* : Circular letter : Stores are not to be purchased at exorbitant prices. *Apr. 1* : Letter from Sir T. Hardy : 'The supposed destination of the French Squadron [cruising off the Argentine] is the *Pacific*.' *May 5* : Sea Moderate, weather fine. Gen. Bonaparte departed this life at 6 p.m. (*sic*). *May 6* : Visited the corpse of Gen. Bonaparte in company with the Governor and the French Commissioner. Fishing-boats restrictions taken off. Guard not to be rowed at night. Notice of cessation of contracts connected with supplies for St. Helena. *May 7* : *H.M.S. Heron* (Cpt. Hanmer) sails with the Admiral's despatches in charge of Cpt. Hendry of *H.M.S. Rosario*, Cpt. Crockat, 20th Regt., taking the Governor's. *May 7* : Commission to Lieutenant [G. R.] Lambert to act as Commander of *Rosario*. *May 8* : Commission to Capt. Marryat [of *H.M.S. Beaver*] to act as Commander of *Rosario* [at his special request ; see App. B, *March 7*, 1821]. Commission to *Acting-Captain* Lambert to act as Commander of the *Beaver*.² *May 8* :

¹ On April 12, Brabazon was suspended for neglect of duty in not boarding one of the *E.I.C.*'s ships, which, in consequence, ran into the *Vigo*. Lambert was very wroth, and threatened to 'fire at any ship' that did so again (*St. Helena Records*).

² There is something revolting in the opportunism of Admiral Lambert, who, in Napoleon's death, saw one thing and one thing only : his young brother's promotion. The Lieutenant was in command of the tender *Hardy* and seems to have danced attend-

General Memorandum : To fire 25 minute guns on signal made to-morrow. A detachment of marines from Squadron to assist at ceremony of Gen. Bonaparte's interment ; and Captains and all officers who can be spared from duty to attend at Longwood at $\frac{1}{2}$ before 11 to-morrow. *May 9* : Attended funeral of Gen. Bonaparte—sea moderate, weather fine. *May 13* : Hard gales ; *Vigo* broke her moorings. *May 19* : Letter to Governor Farquhar of Mauritius : ' Death of Gen.

ance upon his ' big brother,' both professionally and privately. One surmises that these fraternal reciprocities were a byword in both Services, for even the Governor is moved to a satirical reply. His despatch to Bathurst, of April 3, 1821, sheds too strong a light upon the gruesome and cynical tone of the Admiral, and upon his own suspiciousness, not to be worth quoting at some length : ' The Admiral as well as the Marquis de Montchenu were both living at Plantation House during the time [end of March]. The Marquis was always satisfied with such information as I gave him [upon Napoleon's illness and seclusion]. The Admiral, though minutely acquainted with everything, was, to use an ordinary expression, *very fidgetty*. He wanted at one moment to lay an embargo on all vessels publicly, and was not dissuaded until I made him understand that the responsibility of the *éclat* of such a measure must rest entirely with himself. He quoted to me the arguments *he* would employ to persuade General Bonaparte to show himself, without appearing to reflect that if he could be approached, to *be seen and spoken to*, there could be no necessity of any argument at all ! One of his observations was, however, too remarkable not to be mentioned to your Lordship. On shewing to him Dr. Arnott's first note [Apr. 1], where he spoke of having *felt* Gen. Bonaparte but not *seen* him, he asked me if I did not think this conduct very childish. I replied that Gen. B. was a man who did not regulate his conduct by any of the ordinary rules of life, and I reminded the Admiral of the story of the Cardinal who during the sittings of a Conclave pretended to be very ill and almost dying, which induced the other Cardinals to elect him as Pope [Sixtus V.], under the impression that the Papal Chair would the sooner again become vacant ; but he had no sooner been elected than he immediately cast aside all his infirmities and filled the Chair for several years. Such conduct had not drawn any particular blame on him, but on the contrary had always been cited as an instance of sound policy. The Admiral looked very grave at this, and after a short pause turned to me and said : " If he should die, I should like to see his body ; the corpse so

Bonaparte—port open.' May 20: Passed by the *Henri* (French trader) from Mauritius to Bordeaux. Not allowed to anchor (!). May 23: Came in *E.I.C.'s Vansittart*. May 27: Sailed the *Camel* at 3. July 26: *Dunira* sailed. Sep. 10: Letters to Balcombe, Cole and Co. closing contracts for beer and vegetables, and expressing satisfaction. Do. to O'Connor

soon becomes putrid in this climate that I should like to be informed so as to see him the morning afterwards." "Oh, certainly," I answered, "not only you, Sir, but your Surgeon [Mitchell] shall have an opportunity of seeing and examining the body." The Admiral, as if feeling he had said something improper, added in a kind of smiling confidential manner: "In the ups and downs of life opportunities should not be neglected. I was sending my Brother to the Isle of France, but have delayed him a few days in the event of anything happening, because I would send him home with the Despatch. I would like therefore to be informed as soon as possible on this account." "Oh, certainly," I again replied, adding, but ironically, "and it may be a ground for him to ask promotion upon." "Yes," the Admiral said, "the information might be acceptable" (L.P., 20, 140, f. 104). Alas, like another Monarch, Napoleon took an unconscionable time a-dying, and on April 4 young Lambert sailed for Mauritius. But he was not forgotten. On May 7, the Admiral sent Captain Hendry home quite unnecessarily, and obviously in order to create a vacancy for his brother. The proper person to take his despatches was Captain Hanmer of the *Heron*, himself; and Crokat (who got a majority for his trouble), of course, might have taken both sets. Then came the above appointments, and a twenty-four hours' command of the *Rosario*—2,000 miles off!—is put to Lambert *junior's* credit. Seeing that Lowe's despatch was doubtless passed on by Bathurst to Melville, one is not surprised to find that on July 7, the Admiralty censured Lambert's action in sending Hendry back, and appointed 'Lieut. Maclean' to succeed the latter. By the time the Admiral heard from them, his lucky brother was taking the *Beaver* across to Rio to join Sir Thomas Hardy's Squadron. Thus, incidentally, did the one Service inform against the other. *En passant*, one trait characterized all our St. Helena Admirals—a lack of independent action, shall we say? They never quite 'sailed on their own bottoms,' so to speak, and, like their flagships, always had a tender about them. Cockburn's secretary, Malcolm's wife, Plampin's mistress, Lambert's brother—a various, and vicarious, quartette! And the most tender, I opine, was the third!

and Carroll for soft bread. *Sep. 11* : ' At 10.30, being waited upon by the Officers of the Garrison, the Members of Council, and the Public Authorities, I took leave of them, expressing my satisfaction at the harmony which had subsisted between the several services during my Command.' At 2.30 weighed and made sail for the Cape. *Oct. 27* : Received news of appointment as Rear-Admiral of the *White*. *Jan. 1, 1822* : Reached Spithead, with Sir Jahleel Brenton, Commissioner at the Cape, as passenger.

APPENDIX E

LOWE, READE, PLAMPIN AND CO.

I.—READE IN HIS RÔLE.

‘I shall watch him [Bertrand] myself likewise, and will not leave town until he quits it.’

(Reade to Lowe, May 1, 1818, L.P., 20,207, f. 100.)

‘The Marquis and Capt. de Gors were some time in conversation with Ct. and Ctess. Bertrand yesterday. They met near Hutt’s Gate, and proceeded towards Plantation House by the New Road. They left James Town about 2 o’c., and went directly up the Valley by Major Hodson’s, I imagine to avoid being seen going up the Side Path.’

(*Ibid.*, f. 266.)

‘MY DEAR SIR,

‘Laroche has been in Town this morning. He has had an interview with Mr. Gates, who has been employed in the Brewhouse belonging to Balcombe, Cole and Co., and who is going to the Cape in the *Perseverance*. He has embarked with his baggage, but his interview with Laroche appears rather suspicious, and I have thought it right to let you know it before the ship sails. You can signalize me whether she may sail. The Provost-Serjeant was with them the whole time and heard what was said. He says nothing of consequence was mentioned. Laroche had likewise a long interview with the Marquis’s servant who came from Rio in the *David*.

‘Yrs., etc.,

‘T. READE.’

(Reade to Lowe, December 4, 1818, L.P., 20,124, f. 339.)

'Having received a signal at Plantation House that McGrath was on the road to James Town, I proceeded there immediately. Upon the road between High Knoll and Ladder Hill I overtook his wife and inquired where she was going. She replied: "To James Town." The moment of my arrival in Town I sent a serjeant to meet her and bring her to my Office, but he was told she had returned very soon after I had spoken to her. I sent also for McGrath, but finding he was much in Liquor I ordered him to the Guard until he was sober. When he was brought to me a second time, I questioned him very particularly about his coming so often to the Town and also about the visits which the French servants were in the habit of making at his Hut. He said his own visits to the Town were principally made for the purpose of purchasing a few articles which he retailed to the soldiers at the Camp, and he denied that the French servants frequented his Hut. During the time he was in the Guard Room the Marquis' servant appeared to be very inquisitive, and made many inquiries as to the reason of his being confined, and a girl who lives at the house occupied by Baize the hair-dresser, a house of common resort both for McGrath's family as well as the Marquis' servant, was observed going to the Marquis' with a bundle. I took the opportunity of sending my Clerk with a book for Cpt. de Gors, desiring him at the same time to be particular in observing what the girl was about. He went suddenly into the servant's room and found the Marquis' steward with the bundle which the girl had delivered; but upon his observing my Clerk, he threw the bundle hastily into a Box and appeared confused. My Clerk observed to him: "You need not be alarmed; pray what have you got?" The answer was that it was a Cake which Mrs. Baize had sent to him.'

(Reade to Lowe, July 31, 1820, L.P.; 20,130, f. 304.)

[Lowe sends the above to Bathurst, adding: 'The circumstance of a bundle delivered to the Marquis' servant is certainly very suspicious. . . . I may perhaps with Sir T. Reade's effectual assistance be enabled to trace something more hereafter.']

II.—PLAMPIN A-PLOTTIN'.

Private.

' BRIARS,

' Jan. 27, 1819.

' MY DEAR SIR,

' To save time I wish you would send a secret order to the serjeant of the Guard at the brow of Alarm Hill to look out for Mr. Torbett, that if he sees him going towards Longwood to let him pass your House [Alarm House] but to have him very closely watched—indeed, to allow him to go on, if the person can keep pace with him, but on an appearance of his being able to join or speak to any Foreigner, *qui que ce soit*, to instantly arrest him and bring him to Briars, so closely watching him that he could not possibly get rid of any piece of Paper whatever. I have reason to think, when on foot he is in the habit of striking across the Punch Bowl. If so, is there not a sentinel somewhere above Hutt's Gate that could watch and prevent communication? I suspect that he is made the node of communication between St—e [Stokoe] and Bertrand. Lose no time, as it's very likely he may be employed to-day. Do you know whether he was on foot or on horseback on Monday when he was that way? In great haste.

' Yrs., etc.,

' R. PLAMPIN.'

' SIR THOS. READE, C.B.'

(L.P., 20,125, f. 233.)

[This within a week of Dr. Stokoe's being called to attend Napoleon. What Torbett could possibly have conveyed from Bertrand to the Surgeon except another summons to the Patient's side one fails to see. Any confidence would have awaited his arrival. But that suppression of three letters of the name gives us about the measure of Plampin's intelligence. On top of the foregoing the following strikes the sublime!]

' *Secret.*' Sep. 1, 1819, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 p.m.

' MY DEAR SIR,

' I thank you sincerely for your v. obliging note which I have just received. Duplicité may have its existence

somewhere. Candid in my own proceedings, I am loath to suspect it in another. At all events, I trust the most inveterate enemy I may have . . . will not have it in his power to take me by surprise, or by the utmost ingenuity be enabled to invalidate any part of that which I have stated on a solemn oath.

' I remain, etc.,
' R. PLAMPIN.'

' To SIR H. LOWE.'

(L.P., 20, 128, f. 1.)

III.—ON DIT.

' JAMES TOWN,
' May 22, 1818.

' DEAR SIR,

' Ensign Patterson (St. H. Regt.) has informed me that shortly after the Proclamation was put up yesterday Privates T. Reynolds and Wm. Pearce, 66th Regt., were reading it, when Daniel Smith the Carpenter came up for the same purpose, and on leaving said: "Damn me if I would mind giving Five Pounds to assist in getting him off!" They say he meant Buonaparte.'

(L.P., 20, 122, f. 364.)

[Unsigned, but probably from Town-Major Cole to Reade.]

IV.—LOWE AS HE LISTETH.

' I have thought it advisable to inclose a List of the principal persons respecting whom Capt. Ripley [v. Appendix B, May 24, 1819] might be questioned in the manner pointed out in my letter . . . whose character may render them more or less suspected :—

1. Mr. Samuel Solomon, shopkeeper.
 2. Mr. Bruce, clerk to above.
 3. Mr. Joseph Solomon, shopkeeper.
 4. Mr. Lewis Solomon, do.
 5. Mr. Boorman, plumber
 6. Mr. Paine, paperhanger
 7. Mr. Darling, upholsterer
 8. Mr. Heywood, tavern-keeper.
 9. Mr. Lowden, do.
- } employed at Longwood.

10. Mr. Cole, postmaster.
11. Mr. Fowler, *sen.*
12. Mr. Fowler, *jun.*
13. Mr. Waring, clerk
14. Mr. Banks, do.
15. Mr. Scriven, warehouseman.
16. Mr. Wright, late Capt. St. Helena Regt.
17. Mr. Metcalfe, carpenter.
18. Mr. Bannister, victualler.
19. Mr. Simpson, employed in Commissariat (*squints a little.*)
20. Mr. Eyre, lodging-keeper, where Cpt. Ripley lodged.
21. Mr. Mulhall, clerk in the Commissariat.
22. Mr. Chamberlayn, carpenter.
23. Mr. Gordon, cooper ["the one-eyed"].
24. Mr. Baker, contractor.
25. Mr. Carroll, merchant.
26. Mr. McRitchie, shopkeeper.
27. Mr. Torbett, do.
28. Mr. Blunden, clerk.
29. Mr. Greenland, shopkeeper.
30. Mr. Green, do.
31. Mr. Dring, auctioneer.
32. Mr. Julio, a young man without fixed employment.
33. Mr. Tracy, butcher.
34. Cpt. Brash, of the *Lusitania*.'

(Lowe to Bathurst, June 8, 1819, L.P., 20, 126, f. 374.)

[The above amiable List, which constitutes pretty well the mercantile *Who's Who* of St. Helena, gives us 34 'principal' suspects out of a total white adult male trading community of about twice that number. Lowe manifestly chose the wholesale system. One mildly wonders what Wright and Brash are doing in that galley when 'Daniel Smith the Carpenter' is *out* of it, whether the romantic Julio ever tried to be employed in the dative, and why the strabismic Simpson was never posted by Reade *en vigie* at the cross-roads of the Alarm House.]

APPENDIX F

THE ' PLOT ' OF 1817.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER WRITTEN FROM PHILADELPHIA,
JULY 24, 1817.

The execution of the project of removing Buonaparte from St. Helena, hatched by Joseph Buonaparte, is entrusted to General Raoul. Joseph has received for him and handed over to him an engraved map of the Island, brought by Rousseau, valet of Buonaparte, to which are affixed the two (*sic*) following signatures: '*Buonaparte, Napoleon.*' Desnouettes is entrusted with the purchase of two schooners of 310 tons, carrying guns of 12-calibre and provided with a furnace to make the shot red-hot. The two Lallemand's are to recruit the officers and men. The officers will proceed from Philadelphia to New York and Baltimore, and thence come together at Annapolis, where are found at the present moment Calabert, *ci-devant* Colonel of the 50th Regt. of the Line, and Adolphe de Pontécoulant, Grouchy's nephew. Colonel Latapie has already gone with 32 officers to Pernambuco. The meeting-place for this expedition is the Island of Fernando Noronha, 70 leagues off the coast of Brazil, long. 34° 58' W., lat. 3° 56' S. Here are to unite Buonaparte's French officers, to the number of about 80, 700 men from the United States, the two schooners, and the vessel of 74 commanded by Lord Cochrane, carrying 800 men and 2 or 300 officers. This total force is to sail for St. Helena, engage the English cruisers, burn them, and then make three attacks by land, one on the Capital, another on Sandy Bay, and a third on Prosperous Bay. The first is a sham, designed to draw the English troops to Jamestown; the second, which

will employ the major part of the strength of the expedition, will carry the fort in the middle of the Island ; and the last will be directed against Longwood for the purpose of carrying off Buonaparte and putting him on the swiftest sailing-ship, which will bring him to the United States. Raoul has no doubts as to the success of the expedition, and thinks all will happen exactly as ordered. The sister of [Gen. Sir Robert] Wilson, who is known in France for having abetted La Valette's escape, is at Brussels ; and she and Lord Cochrane, who was there a while ago, have spoken about the expedition to Colonel Jeannot, nephew of the General of that name, who has just reached Philadelphia, and have marked out General Raoul for the leadership of this venture. Buonaparte himself told Rousseau that he counted upon the above General, when giving him the plan of the Island.

General Brayer discussed this plot with Raoul before leaving Buenos Ayres, and promised to send him the French officers who had served under each of them. Generals Clauzel, Grouchy, Desnouettes, the Lallemand's, and he [Raoul] met last Thursday at the house of Joseph Buonaparte to debate the plan. Colonel Grouchy had taken no part in this conspiracy, but Joseph had him summoned by his brother.

A light schooner, armed with 4 guns of 12, and 12 to 16 smaller pieces, having each 300 rounds of ammunition, is ready to leave this port for St. Helena, with the object of observing the position of the English cruisers and the strength of the English forces, and turning back to meet the expedition with a report of it. She is fitted out by Stephen Girard. The guns are in the hold. When Buonaparte reaches the United States, the plan is to take him in a frigate to Cherbourg, there to try his fortune. Grouchy and Clauzel are the two who transmit Joseph's orders to the other officers. Rousseau and Archambault, valets of Buonaparte, who have arrived here, were bearers of letters from him to Joseph, Clauzel, Grouchy, Desnouettes, and the Lallemand's. In them was related all that is taking place at St. Helena. The inhabitants are much inclined to Buonaparte.¹ These two men know the Island well, and have made the whole round of it several times.

¹ Sont très portés pour B.

Landrecchi, a Corsican by birth, is entrusted with Joseph's police, and sent Astolphi, on June 4th last, in the American Brig, *General Jackson*, to Leghorn, with two packages, one for Marie Louise and the other for Lucien.

Piontkowski was the bearer of letters from Buonaparte to Cambacérès, Fouché, Carnot, Merlin de Douay. Santini took other letters for the same people, and, besides, three decorations, of the Legion of Honour, the Iron Crown, and the Réunion, with *plaques*, and two locks of hair for the Archduchess Marie Louise and her son.

Poli, who is in command of the fort of Gavi near Genoa, an ex-colonel of *chasseurs*, and another colonel are to carry off Buonaparte's son and hand him over to Lucien, who will bring him here.

It is said that Joseph has already given a deal of money to Cobbett to write against England, and has promised more. Cobbett is settling at Jamaica, in Long Island, where are Rousseau, Archambault, and many French officers. The sons (*sic*) are bearers of correspondence for Joseph and the officers.

The schooner which is now here is to embark a general. The men are enrolled as if for privateering against the Spaniards. The two other schooners will be purchased and fitted out, one at Baltimore and the other at Annapolis. There will be 74 cabins. There are by now at Baltimore 70 officers. They have received a 100 dollars apiece from Joseph.

(L.P., 20, 119, ff. 144-147.)

ADDENDUM.

H. Chamberlain to Castlereagh, Rio de Janeiro,
Nov. 15, 1817.

The arrivals of Frenchmen at Pernambuco : one confesses to the 'plot' :—

'It was intended to fit out one or more fast sailing vessels . . . sufficiently capacious to contain several small steam-boats. These vessels after making the Island of St. Helena were to keep at a considerable distance from it. . . . The

steam boats were then to be prepared, and as they were to be sent at night and manned by persons determined to brave every danger, it was hoped that some one of them might be fortunate enough to succeed in setting their late Emperor at liberty. This notion of employing steam boats upon such an expedition is entirely new and is worth attention, particularly when a landing is to be made at St. Helena.'

(L.P., 20, 120, f. 246.)

APPENDIX G

TWO LETTERS OF CAPEL LOFFT.

CAPEL LOFFT'S LETTER ON THE 'HABEAS CORPUS.'

TROSTON HALL, NEAR BURY,
SUFFOLK,

November 8, 1815.

SIR,

I perhaps owe you an Apology for having so long omitted to answer your Letter. You will probably have seen, however, that I have not been inattentive to the subject of it. You will perceive that I answer you rather as a Barrister than as an *Homme-de-Lettres*, though far from regarding the two Characters as incompatible.

I must observe as to an Action, that while we most wrongfully in my opinion treat Napoleon as an Alien Enemy, if our Courts should adopt that Construction the Plea of Alien Enemy (though Lord Ellenborough has justly called it an *odious* Plea) would of course be allowed.

But I think it would be beneath the Dignity of the Emperor to bring an Action for Damages even if Peace with France were concluded and the plea of Alien Enemy consequently done away.

The proper remedy is either :—

- (1) By Motion for a Parliamentary Enquiry.
- (2) By Opposition to a Bill of Ratification and Indemnity if introduced.
- (3) By Impeachment.
- (4) By Indictment.
- (5) By Habeas Corpus.

The advantage of the *first* would be to go to the root of the Transaction ; with whatever success besides, still with the

certainly of exposing to the Public its Impolicy and Inconsistency with the National Character.

Of the *second*, that it would have a better chance, because I cannot conceive what Bill could be introduced that would not be unfounded in Fact and Constitutional Law, and at once ridiculous and odious. Besides that the Ex-Emperor is no Subject of coercive Legislation on our part, being no Subject of ours at all, and we having rejected the only manner in which he could have become so, by residing amongst us.

The *third*, by Impeachment : if Parliament were in its right State and our Constitution in vigour, this would be the most dignified and appropriate course. I need scarcely say how little could be hoped from it at present.

The *fourth*, by Indictment, might be founded on a Conspiracy at Common Law, and also have Counts applicable to the Statutes of Habeas Corpus, 16 Car. I. c. 10 ; 31 Car. II. c. 2. By these an illegal Imprisonment, though claiming to be by Authority of the King in Council, is reacht and the Penalties incurred, among which is perpetual Incapacity of the Offenders for Office, in the case of this very Offence, sending any subject forcibly from England beyond the Seas. It does not say ' natural born subject ' ; and Bonaparte was a temporary Subject—as much as the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia last year.

As to the *fifth* remedy by Habeas Corpus, it was neglected though urged while yet he was detained within the Realm of England. It was supposed not applicable, I know not wherefore. Not only as to *place*, as I informed Sir Francis Burdett, the Main Sea is within reach of the Habeas Corpus ; but Jersey, Guernsey, Berwick, the Plantations, all the Dominions of the Crown of England are subject to the Habeas Corpus, Mandamus, Certiorari as great prerogative Writs everywhere probative of Right and Liberty. Had this Method been taken, the Return must have admitted that he was declared as Prisoner of War to be sent beyond the Seas, namely St. Helena, there to be confined during pleasure by Virtue of a Warrant or Order, which it must have set forth, and to whom directed. And protesting always, under the circumstances under which he came, against his being a

Prisoner of War at all, if he had been such Prisoner he could not either agreeable to our own Laws or the Law of Nations be so sent and so confined. Prisoners of War are to be tried according to the Principles of civilized Warfare and Usages consistent with those Principles. Not every or any barbarous Custom is to be taken as evidence of the Law of Nations. Prisoners of War may have their Rights and Remedies better (?) covered by the Municipal Laws of any Country, but they cannot agreeably to the Law of Nations be treated in any Country with a Severity that the Law and Usage of War, which is a part of the Law of Nations, disallows. They are under the Protection of the Criminal Jurisprudence of the Land : to kill them without legal Authority would be Murder punishable by Indictment on behalf of the State ; for the Remedy is not, like an Action, that of the Individual but of the Public. This honourable Class of Prisoners cannot be in a worse state than our African Slaves, or a Convict for an offence for which Transportation is not provided by Law—neither of whom can be forcibly sent beyond the Seas to be confined elsewhere.

I am, Sir, respectfully,
 yr. obedt. h. servant,
(Signed) CAPEL LOFFT.

P.S.—Persons under Military Custody have been expressly decided both before Lord Mansfield and Lord Ellenborough, with the other Judges for the time being, to be within the Remedy of the Act of Habeas Corpus.

This great and singular Case will, as I know from several Members of both Houses, be undoubtedly brought under Discussion in some shape or other when Parliament shall at last meet. And I hope every Friend of Constitutional Right, Universal Law, Justice, and Humanity will then give his Aid.

C. L.

TO THE REV. GEO. SOMMERS CLARKE, D.D.
 WALTHAM, NR. CHELMSFORD, ESSEX.

[Communicated by Miss Lofft Holden.]

CAPEL LOFFT'S LETTER TO THE COMTE DE MILLERAYE,
THANKING HIM FOR TRANSMITTING TO HIM NAPOLEON'S
GIFT OF A LOCK OF HAIR.

BURY,

August 15, 1815.

MONSIEUR LE COMTE,

I cannot express to you or even rightly gauge myself the sentiments of gratitude, esteem, and veneration by which I am moved towards the august person and character of the Greatest of Men. I shall always cherish and, I trust, transmit to my most distant posterity the priceless gage of the consideration wherewith I have been honoured by Napoleon Bonaparte, Emperor, Legislator, General, Philosopher—illustrious in prosperity and greater still in adversity ; whose great deeds History, ay, even Poetry, will be powerless to cope with ; of whom the simplest Memory¹ will be the worthiest Monument for all time, as with Caesar his *Commentaries* ; a Man whom every Nation, every Century shall call great and think greater still in their hearts ; a Man who will be eternally honoured for [his advancement of] Arts and Sciences, for his plans for the enfranchisement and amelioration of Mankind, and for his noble devotion ; a Man whom the impartial Future will know how to reverence even more for his virtues than his talents. He is no foe to my country. He has reposed the highest-minded trust in the Laws and the Constitution of England, and in the generosity of character of Englishmen, my fellow-countrymen. He has come to England as a friend. It is for the English Government to answer what return it has made for that generous confidence (which it ought to have rightly appraised), at the risk of its eternal good name. There are Members of both Houses, amongst the most patriotic, who will call it to account.

I think nevertheless that that portion of the English Nation, whether officers of both Services, or statesmen and politicians, who has had the good fortune to see and hear Bonaparte (as well as the plain people of all classes and both sexes), has proved worthy of the good opinion he had formed of us when

¹ *La plus simple Mémoire. Query : Le plus simple Mémoire ?*

he resolved to visit (*sic*) our Island. When I say 'Bonaparte,' I say all : neither epithet nor title can add to the name.

My efforts, such as they were, did not deserve so great a tribute as this lock of hair, which has adorned a head for ever illustrious by virtue of its Thoughts and its Labours whether in War or Peace. Although I was moved (and what man would *not* have been moved?) when I reflected upon *what* Personage would devolve the duty of deciding the great Question [*i.e.*, Exile], I deemed that the latter concerned even more my Country and its Laws and Constitution, the Rights of Men and of Nature, Justice, Philanthropy, and universal Liberty and national esteem ; and that hence we could not touch Napoleon, who was always superior to circumstances : and I endeavoured to save my Country from the sole inefaceable disgrace that it has ever suffered. . . . Deign, Monsieur le Comte, to accept my thanks and gratitude for the good opinion you have been pleased to entertain of my efforts, and for the consideration which, as a friend of Napoleon, you have extended unto me. My wishes for the health and happiness of the most illustrious and the best of men, and for those brave friends who have followed his fortunes with a steadfast fidelity, will always accompany you whithersoever Providence may lead you.

I am, etc.

(Signed) CAPEL LOFFT.

(C.O. Records, 247. 4.)

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